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# The Alberta Journal of Educational Research

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*AJER* is a quarterly journal devoted to the dissemination, criticism, interpretation, and encouragement of all forms of systematic enquiry into education and fields related to or associated with education.

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## Editorial

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce myself as the new editor of *AJER*. I am an assistant professor in the Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education at the University of Alberta. I completed my doctoral studies in educational psychology at the University of Alberta in 1992. My interests include learning and motivation, behavior analysis, second language teaching and learning, and research methodology.

A special thanks to Dr. Rob Short, my predecessor, for his guidance and help in my new role as editor. Rob served as the editor for the past two years. During his term three special issues of *AJER* appeared. In December 1991, *AJER* devoted an issue to the 50th anniversary of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta; in March 1993, under guest editors Jacques Désautels and Colette Dufresne-Tassé, francophone educational research in Quebec was featured; and in June 1993 Nelly McEwen edited a volume that included papers presented at the Charlottetown symposium on the Educational Quality Indicators (EQI) initiative. In addition, under Dr. Short's guidance, *AJER* began to publish French abstracts of each article. *AJER* continues to be a scholarly educational publication that addresses many interests and deals with a wide range of educational issues. The time, energy, and initiative Rob took as editor is greatly appreciated.

In each March issue *AJER* recognizes the contributions of the past year's reviewers. Their critiques constitute an essential part of the publication process and I thank them for a job well done. Finally, the advisory committee and I would like to welcome 10 new consulting editors: Terry Belke, George Buck, John Connors, Samuel Deitz, Sharon Haggerty, Antoinette Oberg, Ruth Rees, Rob Short, Kelleen Toohey, and Robert Wilson. I look forward to working with all of you to produce a quality journal that continues to be an important publication in the field of education.

### *AJER: Forty Years*

This issue of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* marks the beginning of its 40th year in publication. Volume 1, Number 1 was published in March 1955. We are proud to share the 40th anniversary of *AJER* with our readers and authors who have contributed their support to the mission of this journal. In this issue the article by George Buck is based on an interview with Herbert T. Coutts who was involved in establishing the journal. The article provides an overview of the origins of *AJER* and highlights some of the developments that have taken place during four decades of publication.

The *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* is the oldest educational journal in Canada. Over the years *AJER* has enabled educational scholars to communicate and interact with one another. In the early years, *AJER* provided a forum for academics, students, teachers, and administrators from Alberta. As time passed, contributors and subscribers came to reflect a broader audience. Today



authors and readers come from across Canada and from many other parts of the world. *AJER* has gained a reputation as a broad-based, high quality educational journal of interest to an international community. I thank the many scholars, researchers, and practitioners who have published their work in *AJER*. Past editors, editorial board members, and those who refereed the thousands of articles submitted to the journal deserve a special thank you. These individuals have rendered an important service to the field. I am proud to take over as editor on this 40th anniversary of *AJER*.

Like all editors, I have my own point of view about educational research methods, style, and content of manuscripts. For 40 years *AJER* has published a wide range of studies with varying methodologies in most (if not all) areas of education, and I intend to uphold that tradition and build on the journal's eclecticism as a strength. Today there are many specialized journals in education; such journals may be difficult to access when one is not familiar with the specialty area. In contrast, *AJER* provides an opportunity for authors in specialized areas to communicate to a diverse readership. This places demands on contributors; specific issues should be made relevant to the larger educational community. Terms and methods must be clearly and simply outlined in as jargon-free language as possible. Authors should explain what the generality and practical importance of the article is.

Currently many educational researchers appear to spend a good deal of time and energy squabbling about how to do research. Arguments concerning quantitative versus qualitative, statistical versus single-subject design, historical/philosophical analysis versus field observation or experiment, and so on, in my view, occupy a disproportionate amount of academic educators' time. From my perspective, these squabbles are unnecessary, because different positions, methods, or approaches are appropriate for different analyses or questions. *AJER* will accept submissions from any and all who choose a method, position, or analysis that is appropriate to the inquiry of the paper.

*AJER* welcomes research papers that use statistical, qualitative, or single-subject designs. Articles that evaluate educational questions within a broader historical perspective are also encouraged. Such a context allows us to see whether education as a practice is progressing or simply cycling. Philosophical analysis is equally important because it often drives educational research and practice. Especially welcome are reviews that integrate and clarify educational issues. What I hope will distinguish *AJER* from other journals is clear, jargon-free articles from diverse areas that point to educational implications for a broad readership.

Judy Cameron



George H. Buck  
University of Alberta

## Herbert T. Coutts and the Origins, Early Development, and Possible Future Directions of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*

In celebrating the 40th anniversary of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, it is appropriate to investigate the reasons of why and how it came to be, the factors contributing to its establishment, and why it evolved as it did. When researching the origins and development of a given phenomenon, one is usually able to locate primary source material that lists significant dates, names, and events. Rarely, however, is one fortunate enough to find contributors to that phenomenon who are able to provide further elucidation, such as why the phenomenon occurred at that time and why particular individuals were associated with it. We are most fortunate in that Dr. Herbert T. (Pete) Coutts, the third Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, is available and has helped by providing information supplementary to the surviving accounts of the beginnings of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* (AJER). Through the combination of primary source material and Dr. Coutts' recollection we may gain a more complete perspective of the origins and development of the AJER.

The year 1955 was significant not only for the establishment of the AJER, but also for the appointment of Dr. Coutts as Dean. The year also marked 13 years from the establishment of the Faculty of Education, 10 years since the University of Alberta became the sole body responsible for teacher training in Alberta, and nine years since H.T. Coutts joined the Faculty. Dr. Coutts notes that the Faculty of Education was indeed a fledgling body of staff from disparate backgrounds, and that the Faculty was trying to gain credibility with the other faculties of the university. Coutts (1993) states, "Science people in particular felt that we had no research or interest in pursuing it. Although research was ongoing both in the schools and at the university, there were limited outlets for it, and none of these were centered at the university" (Personal interview, September 24). Coutts' statement parallels similar observations made by the first Dean of the Faculty of Education M.E. LaZerte (1951) and later observations by Dunlop (1953). Although publications such as the *ATA Magazine* and the *Alberta School Trustee* had for many years provided some local outlets for reporting educational research done in Alberta, neither publication had evolved into a scholarly journal, and neither was dedicated to reporting research primarily.

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George Buck is a lecturer in the Department of Educational Psychology. He began his career as a teacher and includes school building design and its relationship to learning and instructional theory among his areas of interest.



Although there were many established scholarly educational journals in North America by this time, most were based in the United States, and even those based in Canada, according to Dunlop (1953), were not “devoted entirely to the reporting of the results of educational research” (p. 42). Coutts (1993) states, “much of the energy and direction for the creation of an educational research journal for Alberta came from [George Murray] ‘Pat’ Dunlop [Head of the Division of Educational Psychology at the University of Alberta, Edmonton Campus]” (Personal interview, September 24). From the standpoint of professors in the Faculty of Education, Coutts notes another factor that provided impetus for the establishment of a scholarly journal, “continuation and promotion at the university was in large part determined by the adage *publish or perish*.”

Dunlop (1954; 1955) notes that by the beginning of 1954 the need for a scholarly outlet for the dissemination of educational research findings in Alberta was recognized by three provincial bodies besides the Faculty of Education. These groups were the Alberta Department of Education (now designated as Alberta Education), the Alberta School Trustees’ Association, the Alberta Teachers’ Association, and the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations. With such a wide range of support from provincial organizations it was believed that adequate funding could be secured for the publication of a journal to be known as the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*. To this end two committees were established in February 1954 (Dunlop, 1954).

The first committee, based solely in the Faculty of Education, was called the Faculty of Education Research Committee. Its members comprised the Dean as Chairman, the Heads of the three divisions of the faculty at that time (Coutts was Head of the Division of Secondary Education), the Director of Summer Session, the Director and Assistant Director of Research, and the Editor of the proposed journal (Dunlop, 1954). The Research Committee was responsible for the publication of the journal, as well as for the supervision of sponsored research projects (Dunlop, 1955).

The second committee was the Alberta Advisory Committee on Educational Research, which oversaw the work of the first committee and which also provided financial assistance to selected research projects. This committee, which was also chaired by the Dean of Education, consisted of representatives from the other provincial bodies mentioned above, and the President of the University of Alberta, ex officio (Dunlop, 1955). The Alberta Advisory Committee on Educational Research was, therefore, the more influential of the two committees. Although Coutts was already a member of the Research Committee, he did not assume the Chair of the Advisory Committee until his installation as Dean, September 1, 1955, following the retirement of his predecessor, Dr. Herbert E. Smith.

Coutts (1993) recalls that Smith, “was truly a gentleman, with a knack of seeing the whole picture and getting you to see it too” (Personal interview, September 24). With this bearing, Smith helped focus the direction of the individuals on the Advisory Committee in spite of the varied interests that they represented. Under Smith’s leadership and guidance, the first issue of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* was published in March 1955 (Dunlop, 1955). The first editor was Harold S. Baker, who had succeeded Coutts as Head



of the Division of Secondary Education (Coutts, 1979). The direction set by Smith was continued by Coutts when he became dean (Coutts, 1955).

It should not be taken for granted that the locus of the *AJER* was always considered to be the University of Alberta. Dunlop (1955) states, "The centering of the research program [and the *AJER*] in the University was justified by the concentration there of trained staff, graduate student research workers, offices, and the largest library on education in the province" (p. 21). After becoming dean and assuming the chair of the Advisory Committee, Coutts recalls that he soon discovered a situation that threatened to move the *AJER* away from the university, and in all likelihood alter the journal's direction from a purely scholarly base. Coutts (1993) states,

I perceived that some members of the Advisory Committee, representing the desires of their organizations, felt that control of the Journal should be within their particular group, not the Faculty of Education. I was opposed to this, and I felt that a strong measure should be taken to prevent such a takeover from occurring. It is for this reason that I held the copyright for the Journal personally for a number of years. (Personal interview, September 24)

Moreover, Coutts also notes, "It was further thought by me, 'Pat' Dunlop and some others, that if we could keep the Journal based in the Faculty, then the quality of articles could be kept to a high level, and this would be seen favorably by granting agencies" (Personal interview, September 24). The strategy was sound, for Coutts and Black (1962) report that in 1956, "the Carnegie Corporation of New York announced the award of \$50,000 to the University of Alberta as a stimulus to its [Faculty of Education] research program" (p. 6). A portion of this award went to the maintenance of the *AJER*.

Coutts and Black (1962) report that the Carnegie grant enabled the scope of the *AJER* to be expanded. The authors note that the Journal, "has maintained the high standard set for it and has become internationally known" (p. 6). The fact that a local research-based journal gained international repute in under 10 years of publication was surprising to some individuals. The authors note, "the acceptance of this publication, carrying as it does the news of research to a public heretofore not reached, has exceeded expectations" (p. 6). It was apparent that the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, had evolved into a scholarly journal with a wide readership.

#### *Reflections on the Present and Future of the Journal*

It has been 21 years since H.T. Coutts was Dean of Education and has had an active role in the Faculty of Education. Nevertheless, his interest in developments and possible future directions in the field of education remains keen. Dr. Coutts (1993) notes, "the continued existence of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* shows the rest of the university [of Alberta] as well as other institutions that research in education, especially that based in Canada, is very much alive and is being carried out at high standards" (Personal interview, September 24). When asked about contemporary criticism regarding educational research, namely, that it is mediocre and of little practical use, Coutts replied,

Never before in this province and likely this country have teachers been so well prepared and never has there been so much interest in educational research. We



and our graduates have nothing to be ashamed of. If anything, we have failed to convince individuals outside our profession that what we do is more than the basic job training as provided by the normal schools so many years ago. (Personal interview, September 24)

Although the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* has survived and grown in the past 40 years, Coutts believes that its continued existence will depend on how much our profession will defend itself and its goals. Coutts (1993) states, "Bad press and divisiveness should be fought" (Personal interview, September 24). As Dean of Education, Coutts notes that he strove to achieve three goals that facilitated both the survival of education as a separate discipline and educational research as a viable enterprise,

First, I built up contacts with other faculties, so that each understood what the other was doing and that we were all trying to achieve the same ends: the best possible education for our students. Second, I attempted to build up a staff where each member possessed the highest qualifications. Third, I emphasized the importance both of research and teaching, and that neither one was more important than the other. (Personal interview, September 24)

Part of the strategy to achieve these three aforementioned goals was the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*. Coutts (Hodysh & McIntosh, 1982) states,

The strongest supporters one can have are those who believe that what we are doing is important to them. When it comes to fighting for budgets and dollars that are also being fought for by others, it is helpful to have sympathetic and powerful allies. (p. 179)

Although Dr. Coutts hopes that the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* continues to be published well into the future, he cautions that if educators lose their sense of professional pride, allow current programs to be decentralized to community colleges, and consider educational research to be appropriate only if it is congruent with current popular interests, then,

we are likely to regress to a more primitive and inferior form of teacher education, similar to what existed in much of the continent [North America] before the Second World War. If this should happen, then much of what was fought for and accomplished by individuals such as LaZerte, Smith, Newland, and Dunlop and what has been accomplished through the publication of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* will be lost. We must maintain the wisdom, foresight and strength to resist such regressive steps. (Personal interview, September 24, 1993)

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Catherine D. Krull

University of Alberta

## Level of Education, Sexual Promiscuity, and AIDS

*A disturbing development in the past decade has been the dramatic rise in the incidence of AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). One popular view is that people with higher educational attainment are at lower risk for AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) than those with less schooling. The present study, using data from a national survey of the United States, reports the findings from two studies that indicate the popular view is incorrect. The results from Study 1 indicated that educational attainment had a statistically significant indirect effect on promiscuous sexual behavior through its impact on liberal sexual attitudes. Thus educated people have more liberal dispositions toward premarital sex than those with less schooling and this attitude promotes frequent sex with multiple partners. Study 2 focused on the implications of high-risk sexual practices for the incidence of AIDS in a population. It was found that the incidence of AIDS in a region is partly explained by the educational attainment, liberal sexual orientation, and the promiscuous sexual practices of the population. Overall, the results indicated that the level of education in a population indirectly increased the incidence of AIDS. Finally, the implications for educational policy are discussed.*

*On a témoigné depuis la dernière décennie, une croissance draconienne du SIDA (syndrome d'immunodéficience acquise). Il existe une opinion populaire qui cite que les gens ayant un niveau d'éducation plus élevé risquent moins de contracter le SIDA ainsi que d'autres maladies transmises sexuellement (STM) que ceux qui ont moins d'éducation. Cette étude utilise des données d'un questionnaire national provenant des Etats-Unis pour présenter les recherches de deux études qui indiquent que cette opinion populaire est incorrecte. Les résultats de la première étude indiquent que le niveau d'éducation a une signification statistique indirecte sur des comportements de promiscuité sexuelle par son influence sur les attitudes et les mœurs sexuelles libérales. En somme, les gens éduqués ont une attitude envers les relations pré-nuptiales beaucoup plus libérale que ceux qui possèdent une éducation moins formelle et que ces attitudes promouvoient plus de contacts sexuels avec plus de partenaires. La deuxième étude vise l'implication des comportements sexuels à risques élevés pour la présence du SIDA dans une population. On a prouvé que le taux de cas du SIDA dans une région est en partie expliqué par le niveau d'éducation de cette population, de son orientation sexuelle libérale et de sa pratique de promiscuité sexuelle. En somme, les résultats de ces études indiquent que le niveau de l'éducation d'une population était la cause indirecte du nombre plus élevé de cas du SIDA. On discute en dernier lieu, des implications de la politique de l'éducation.*

A disturbing development in the past decade has been the dramatic rise in the incidence of AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). One popular view is that individuals with higher educational attainment are at less risk for the disease. This view assumes that people with more schooling have formed values and attitudes that make them less likely to engage in behaviors that are associated with contracting the disease. The present study examines the im-

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Catherine Krull is a doctoral student with the Department of Sociology. Her interests include social demography, education, and gender issues.



pact of educational attainment on the sexual attitudes and behaviors of unmarried adults in the United States. The second part of this study examines the effects of educational attainment on the incidence of AIDS in the population.

More than 234,000 Americans have contracted AIDS since 1981 and over 67% of them have since died (Centers for Disease Control, 1992, p. 5). The Centers for Disease Control report that the leading cause of death in the United States among men and women under the age of 45 years and among children between 1 and 5 years of age is the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is believed to cause the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Recent studies indicate that HIV rates among teenagers are increasing. "Three out of every 10,000 teenagers who applied for military service in the United States between 1985 and 1989 tested positive for infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)" (Burke, 1990, p. 2074). The sex ratio of reported AIDS cases among teenagers was close to unity (the rates were equally high for both males and females), but differed significantly by geographic region. This is in sharp contrast to the adult male-to-female ratio of reported AIDS cases, which was 8:1 in 1991 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1993, p. 11). However, male-to-female ratios are expected to decrease as HIV/AIDS continues to spread through heterosexual intercourse (United Nations, 1991).

It is well known that AIDS is preventable. Health education has been suggested as a means of changing attitudes and behaviors that are associated with the transmission of AIDS. The focus of health education and health policy has been to provide information on HIV/AIDS to targeted high risk groups. In this war of health education against AIDS, people with higher levels of formal schooling are seldom targeted as a group at risk for the disease. The belief is that schooling by itself provides the knowledge and motivation to avoid the risky behaviors associated with HIV transmission. For example, people with more schooling are expected to acquire attitudes and values that make them less likely to engage in sexually promiscuous behavior. Although this view is popular, Robertson (1989) argues that general education does not protect people from sexual promiscuity and AIDS.

When the AIDS virus threatens lives, people look to education as the way to prevent the disease from spreading.... [However,] education alone has had little impact on people's unsafe sexual practices. The "let's-solve-it-through-the-schools" approach is based on the fallacy that students learn what they are taught, remember what they learn, and behave accordingly. The dismal fact of the matter is that ... even when students do learn and remember some of the values that the school teaches—such as those concerning sex ... —there is no guarantee that their behavior will actually be guided by those values.... Despite the evidence, the American faith in education as a cure-all persists anyway. (Robertson, 1989, pp. 278-279)

In fact, MacDonald et al. (1990) found that college students who were well informed about the prevention of AIDS continued to engage in unsafe sexual practices. Twenty-eight percent of the college sample reported having more than 10 sexual partners in the last year and even fewer reported that they regularly used condoms. In a more recent study, Hobart (1992) found that objective knowledge of AIDS and personal knowledge of AIDS victims did not



increase safe sexual practices among college students. He concluded that “those most sexually experienced know the most AIDS victims and appraise the AIDS threat most seriously, but it is also true that these experiences are inversely related to professed safe-sex practices” (p. 431).

One generalization based on these studies is that people with more schooling engage in high risk sexual behaviors, placing them at risk for sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS. Apparently, educational attainment inadvertently promotes the very behavior that society seeks to prevent through higher education. This would mean that preventive programs should be designed to include all the population, including those with higher education.

Of interest to this particular study is how level of education affects sexually promiscuous behaviors that are associated with the transmission of HIV/AIDS. To answer this question, two studies were conducted, one at the individual level and another at the aggregate level. The first study focused on how level of education affects sexually promiscuous behaviors at the individual level. Based on these findings, a second study was conducted to examine the relationship between a region's level of education, the sexual practices of the population, and the incidence of AIDS.

### *Study 1*

#### *A Conceptual Model of Education and Sexual Promiscuity*

The literature on sexual attitudes and behaviors not only indicates that level of education and liberal sexual attitudes are positively related but also that liberal sexual attitudes and sexual promiscuity are closely interrelated (Hobart, 1989; Hurn, 1985; Maranell, Dodder, & Mitchell, 1970; Middendorp, Brinkman, & Koomen, 1970; Reiss, 1967). Robertson (1989) concludes from a literature review on permissive attitudes that “In general, permissive attitudes correlate strongly with youth and education; older or less educated people tend to take a more conservative stand” (p. 150). Moreover, people with more liberal sexual attitudes are more likely to engage in sexually promiscuous behaviors (Allen, Onorato, & Green, 1992; Garland, Gorham, Cunnion, Miller, & Balazs, 1992; Hiatt, Capell, & Ascher, 1992; Rogers, 1992; Walter et al., 1992). MacDonald et al. (1990) found that a more casual attitude toward sex was associated with a higher number of partners among both men and women. Smith (1991) also argues that promiscuous behavior is “accompanied by increased social acceptance of premarital sex” (p. 106). Using data from an American national survey, Smith found that abstinence and to a lesser degree, lower frequency of intercourse, were associated with less education and conclude that “Respondents with less education are significantly more likely to be at no or low risk” in terms of AIDS (p. 105).

Generally speaking, people with higher levels of formal education are more likely to engage in sexually promiscuous behavior because they are less constrained by traditional norms. Those who are more educated tend to be more liberal in their attitudes and consequently are more likely to engage in nonconformist behaviors. Conversely, those who are less educated are presumed to be more conservative in their attitudes and are more likely to be constrained by traditional forms of social control. Consequently, they are less likely to engage in nonconformist behaviors.



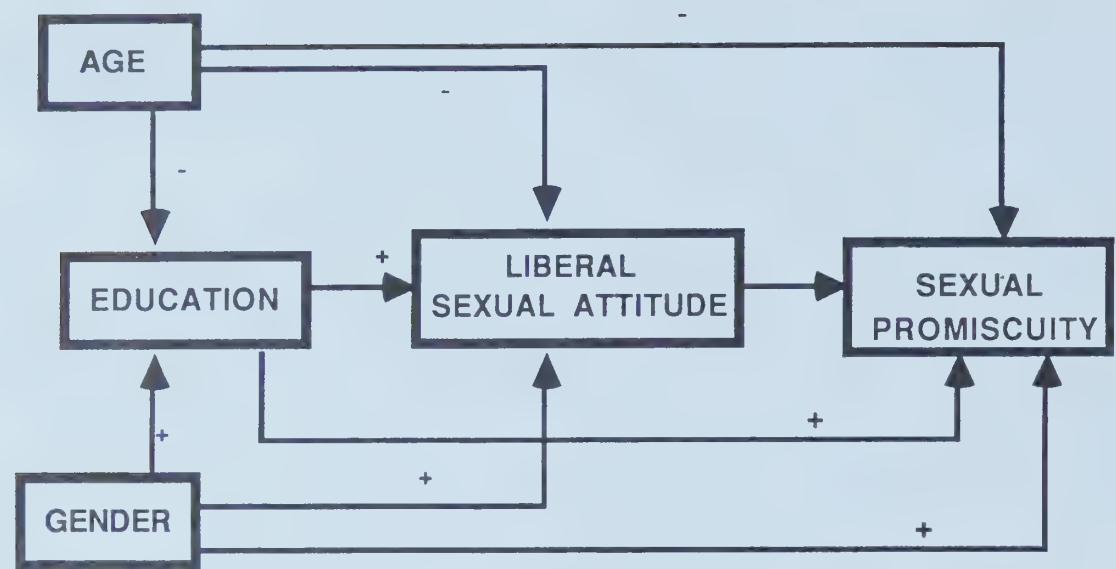


Figure 1. A conceptual model of the impact of level of education on sexually promiscuous behavior at the individual level.

In terms of the present study, level of formal education is expected to have both a direct and an indirect effect on promiscuous sexual behavior (see Figure 1). Educational attainment indirectly affects sexual promiscuity through liberal sexual attitudes. Thus it is expected that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to have a liberal sexual attitude that increases their chances of engaging in sexually promiscuous behavior.

### Method

#### Data

The variables analyzed in this article are taken from the 1991 General Social Survey consisting of data from a full probability sample of 1,285 adults (18 years and over) in the United States. Only those respondents (N=595) who reported that they were not married were used in the analysis. The subsample included those who were never married, separated, divorced, and widowed. The respondents were asked various demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral questions including measures of sexual behavior and attitudes.

The variables selected for analysis were level of education, liberal sexual attitude, and sexual promiscuity. Gender and age were also included in the analysis because these variables may confound the effects of the major predictors. The following age groups were used for the analysis: 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60-69. Level of education was measured as the number of years of formal schooling (0 to 20 years). The variable was collapsed into the following equal interval categories: 3-5, 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, 15-17, and 18-20 years. Liberal sexual attitude was measured by the question "Do you believe that premarital sex is always wrong (coded as 0), almost always wrong (coded as 1), wrong only sometimes (coded as 2) or not wrong at all (coded as 3)?" Four questions were selected as indicators of sexual behavior:

1. How many sexual partners have you had in the last 12 months?<sup>1</sup>
2. About how often did you have sex during the past 12 months? (coded as: 0=two times or less; 1=between one and three times a month; 2=once a week or more)?



3. Have your sexual partners in the last 12 months been: exclusively male; both male and female; or exclusively female? (sexual orientation) and
4. Have any of your sexual partners been casual dates or pick-ups?<sup>2</sup>

The data were analyzed with an R-factor analysis program in SPSSX, which is based on correlations between the four variables. It is the function of factor analysis to identify factors that are independent of one another. The factor analysis used the Varimax method with orthogonal rotation.

Results from the factor analysis, after three iterations, identified the number of sex partners and the frequency of sex as loading strongly on Factor 1. Approximately 91% of the total variance of the frequency of sex variable and approximately 89% of the total variance of the number of sexual partners variable is accounted for by Factor 1. The other two variables, sexual orientation and casual dates, did not load significantly on any one factor indicating that these two variables measured more than one theoretical dimension. For the purpose of this research, Factor 1 was used to represent sexually promiscuous behavior. The computed factor loadings were saved in an active file.

### *Analysis*

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression method was used to generate the path coefficients in the analysis using SPSSX. Path analysis is a method that allows the simple correlations among the variables to be partitioned into direct and indirect effects. A path diagram shows the causal structure of the variables.<sup>3</sup> An arrow from one variable to another indicates a direct path. If an arrow connects one variable to a second and another arrow connects the second variable to a third, the path is said to be indirect. In order to calculate indirect effects, the product of the direct path coefficients is used. The path coefficients are standardized and the larger the value of the coefficient, the greater the impact of that variable. Standardized coefficients may be compared in order to assess the relative effects of the variables in the model.

### *Results*

All the predictors were correlated with sexual promiscuity at the .05 level of significance and the independent variables were not highly intercorrelated, eliminating problems of multicollinearity. As shown in Figure 2, two variables had direct effects on sexual promiscuity accounting for about 27% of the variation in the promiscuity variable. Of the two direct predictors, age had the strongest direct effect on sexual promiscuity. The negative standardized regression coefficient (Beta) of 0.38 indicates that older people were less sexually promiscuous than younger adults. Liberal sexual attitude (Beta=0.29) had the next strongest direct effect on sexual promiscuity—indicating that people who endorsed premarital sex were more sexually promiscuous. The direct effect of gender on sexual promiscuity was not significant.

The direct effect coefficient for level of education was not significant at the .05 level, indicating that education did not operate directly on sexual promiscuous behavior. Level of education, however, had a significant indirect effect on sexual promiscuity through liberal sexual attitudes (Beta=0.11). This effect, which explained approximately 10% of the variance in the dependent variable, indicates that education increased liberal sexual attitudes, which in turn increased sexually promiscuous behavior.



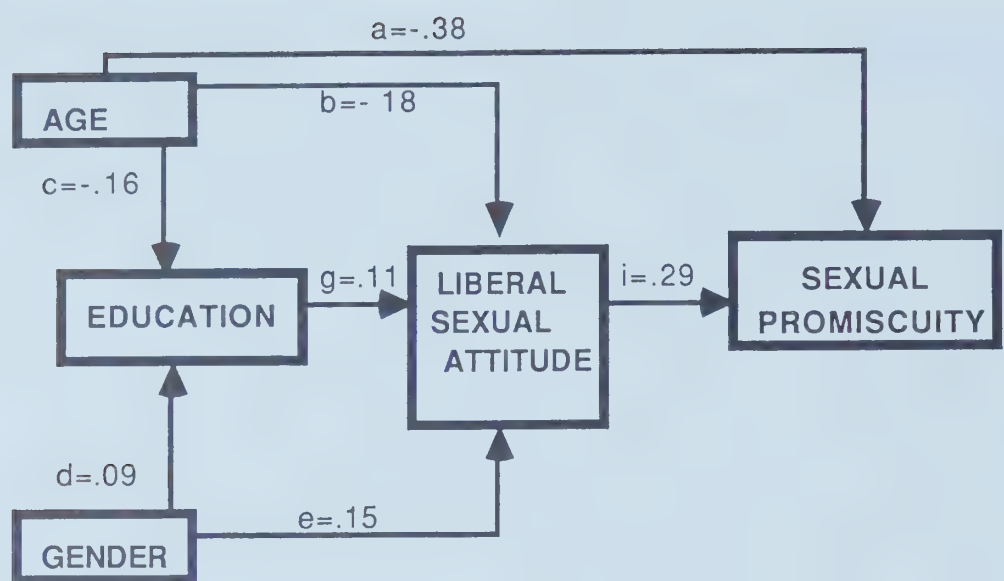


Figure 2. Observed model of the impact of level of education on sexually promiscuous behavior at the individual level.

Age and gender each had three indirect effects on sexual promiscuity. The total indirect effect of age on sexual promiscuity was  $-0.06$  making the total effect  $-0.44$  for age. Gender had a total indirect effect of  $0.05$  on sexual promiscuity.

### Discussion

The results of Study 1 gave partial support to the conceptual model of educational attainment and sexual promiscuity. Level of education did not have the anticipated direct effect on sexually promiscuous behaviors. However, the results indicate a significant indirect effect of level of education on sexually promiscuous behavior. Educated people endorse a more liberal sexual attitude that is associated with sexual promiscuity in this group. Although education has a relatively small but reliable effect on individual behavior, the aggregated effects of these behavioral differences may be significant in terms of placing a population at greater risk in terms of HIV/AIDS.

### Study 2

#### *A Conceptual Model of Education and AIDS*

High educational attainment in a population is a pervasive feature of the industrialized world. During the course of modernization, education increased the state of moral liberalism by promoting free enquiry and encouraging individuals to question the existing social order (Krull & Trovato, in press). However, high levels of education in a society are often obtained at the cost of tradition. In terms of sociological theory, Durkheim (1951) maintained that “Men generally have the desire for self-instruction only in so far as they are freed from the yoke of tradition; for as long as the latter governs intelligence it is all-sufficient and jealous of any rival” (p. 162). The educated person becomes increasingly independent, detached from, and less subordinate to the traditional forms of social control such as the family and the church (Trovato, 1988). Thus social control over moral behavior decreases in a society as education and



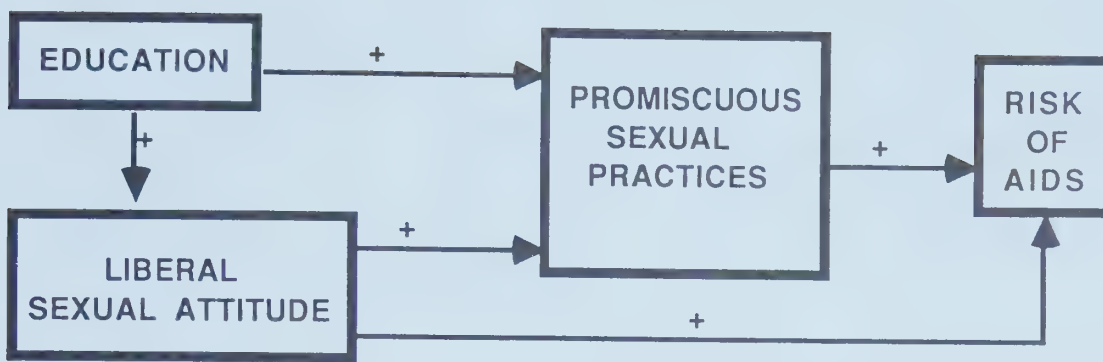


Figure 3. A conceptual model of the impact of level of education on the incidence of AIDS at the aggregate level.

liberal attitudes increase. Although education and liberalism are necessary in terms of modernization, these conditions also are associated with a greater freedom of individual expression including a wider variation in sexual practices. The sexual practices that are of interest to this study are those that are considered to be high risk behaviors associated with the spread of HIV/AIDS.

When analyzing regional variations in the rates of AIDS, it is important to look at the characteristics of the regions. The United Nations (1991) suggests that "Although a roughly exponential increase [in the rates of AIDS] is unmistakable, the rates of growth vary by region, owing to a combination of regional differences in the pace at which the disease is spreading" (p. 23). In addition to the interregional variation in the incidence of AIDS, level of education, liberal attitudes and promiscuous sexual practices vary across regions. These conditions occur in varying degrees and at different times depending on the modernization of a given region.

As shown in Figure 3, the basic argument is that regional variations in the reported cases of AIDS may be explained in part by a population's level of education and degree of liberal attitudes. These variables in turn increase the chances of high risk sexual behaviors associated with HIV/AIDS. Thus regions that have a high level of education and more liberal sexual attitudes are expected to have a more sexually promiscuous population and consequently a higher incidence of AIDS (see Figure 4).

### Method

#### Data and Analysis

In order to analyze the variability in rates of AIDS, which is an aggregate measure, the other measures in the conceptual model were aggregated. The variables were placed in a file that computes age-gender summary measures for each of the nine regions of the United States. In this new file, each case is a region based on the aggregated gender-age specific data rather than individual measures of respondents in that region. Each gender-age-region file was then combined into one active file using the SPSSX MATCH FILES subcommand.

The data for the regional incidence of AIDS were obtained from the 1992 annual report published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia. This report lists the number of individuals with AIDS by age and gender as well as the incidence of AIDS for each state. Because the data from the General Social Survey are classified by regions rather than by states, the AIDS data also had to be categorized by regions. The regions used were as



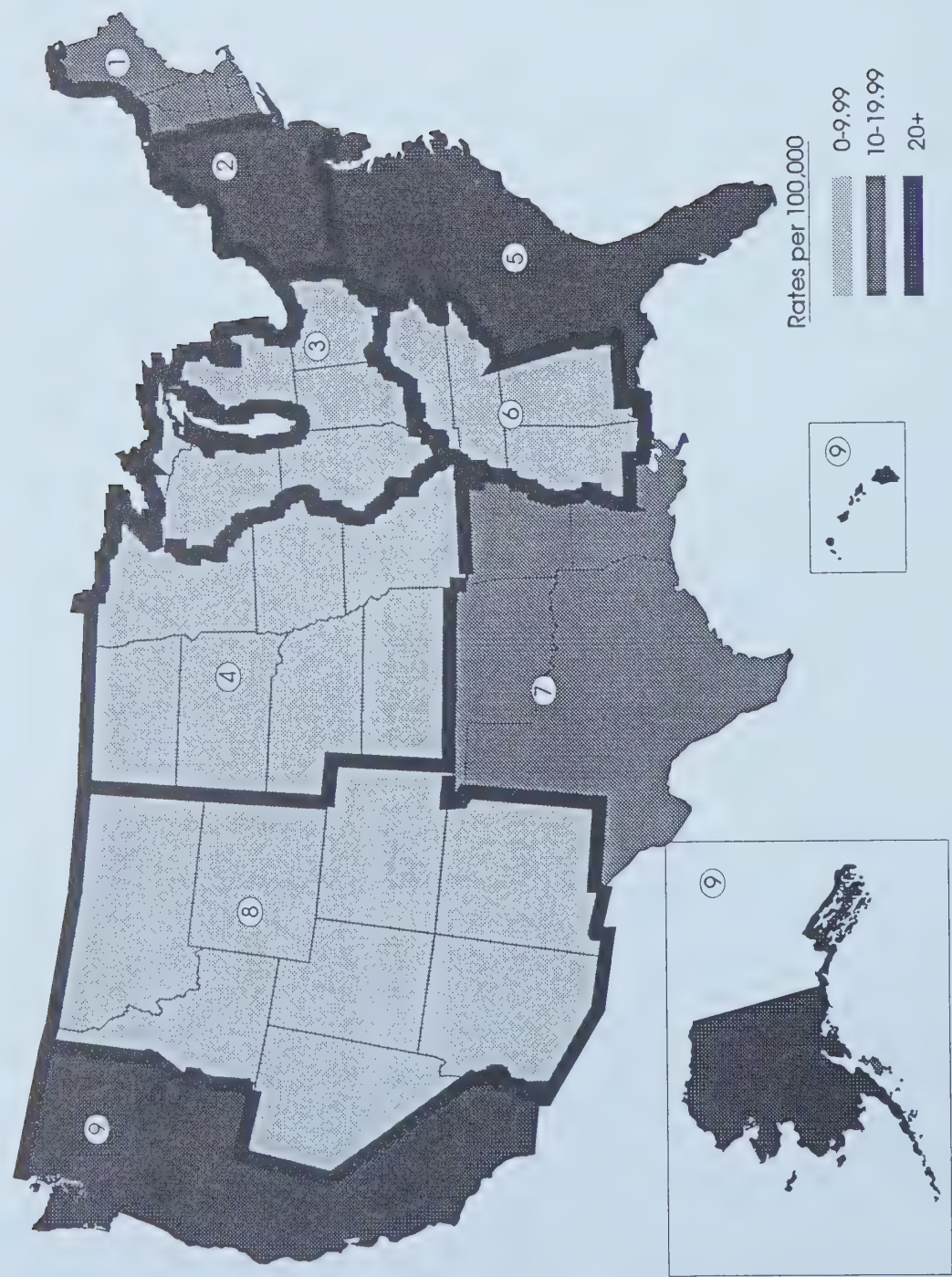


Figure 4. Regional variation in the incidence of AIDS per 100,000 population in the United States, 1991.

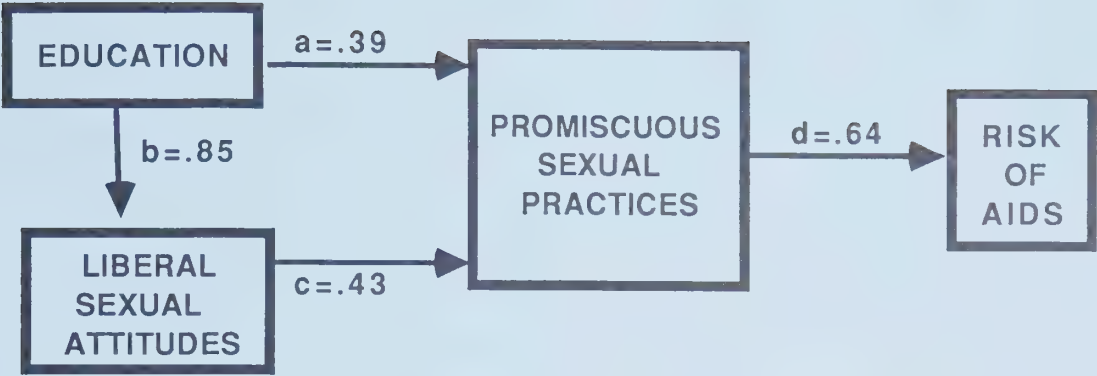


Figure 5. Observed model of the impact of level of education on the incidence of AIDS at the aggregate level.

follows: 1=New England; 2=Middle Atlantic; 3=East North Central; 4=West North Central; 5=South Atlantic; 6=East South Central; 7=West South Central; 8=Mountain; and 9=Pacific. The states included in each of the nine regions are shown in Figure 4 along with a breakdown of the regions by AIDS rates per 100,000 population.

A factor analysis was conducted on the aggregated indicators of sexual promiscuity. As with the individual level analysis, the results identified the number of sexual partners and the frequency of sex as loading strongly on factor 1. In the rotated solution, factor 1 accounted for 90% of the variance in frequency of sex and 89% of the variance in number of partners.

The data for this study conform to a cross-tabular structure making the unit of analysis a Region•Gender•Age specific cell (N=90 cells). Multivariate path analyses were then conducted on the aggregate file in accord with the variables in the conceptual model.<sup>4</sup> Because the unit of analysis included both age and gender, these variables were not entered as controls in the causal model as they were in Study 1. Only sexual promiscuity was allowed to directly affect the incidence of AIDS because the HIV virus can only be transmitted by sexual behavior as shown in the conceptual model. It does not make substantive sense to argue that education or liberal sexual attitudes directly cause AIDS. These variables must indirectly affect AIDS through their impact on sexual promiscuity.

Results

As shown in Figure 5, promiscuous sexual practices had a significant direct effect on AIDS (Beta=0.64) accounting for 41% of the variance in the age-gender-region specific rates of AIDS. This coefficient indicates that regions that have a high rate of promiscuous sexual practices also have a high rate of AIDS.

In terms of the effect of educational attainment on AIDS, there were two indirect paths. The first indirect effect of education on AIDS was through liberal sexual attitudes and promiscuous sexual practices (Beta=0.24). Compared with regions with lower educational attainment, regions with higher educational attainment have more liberal sexual attitudes, greater promiscuous sexual practices, and a higher incidence of AIDS. The second indirect effect of education on AIDS was through promiscuous sexual practice (Beta=0.25). Thus regions with a high level of educational attainment have a



high incidence of sexual promiscuity that is associated with a greater incidence of AIDS.

In terms of the impact of education on promiscuous sexual practices, the direct effect ( $\text{Beta}=0.39$ ) and the indirect effect ( $\text{Beta}=0.37$ ) are of similar magnitude and contribute to a total effect of 0.70 on promiscuous sexual practices. Level of education and liberal sexual attitudes explained about 62% of the variance in sexual promiscuity. Thus regions with higher educational attainment had more liberal sexual attitudes that resulted in greater promiscuous sexual practices than regions with lower educational attainment. Finally, level of education had a strong effect on liberal sexual attitudes ( $\text{Beta}=0.85$ ) and explained approximately 72% of the variance in the attitude variable.

### *Discussion*

The results support the conceptual model of educational attainment and AIDS. As expected, populations with higher education are more sexually promiscuous than populations with less education and consequently have a higher incidence of AIDS. Moreover, populations with a high level of education are also characterized as having a more liberal sexual orientation that coincides with more promiscuous sexual behaviors and a higher incidence of AIDS.

A discrepancy between the causal models of Studies 1 and 2 is that the direct effect of education on sexual promiscuity was not significant at the individual level, but was at the aggregate level. This difference may reflect the greater variance in the measures at the individual level, creating greater error and making it more difficult to detect a significant effect. Measurement errors are expected to be reduced when data are aggregated by age, sex, and region, and this would produce a stronger relation between educational attainment and sexually promiscuous behavior in the aggregate analysis. Thus the aggregate model may be viewed as a more adequate test of the relations explored in this study.

### *General Discussion*

Path analysis at the individual level (Study 1) showed that level of education has a significant indirect effect on promiscuous sexual behavior through its impact on liberal sexual attitudes. Thus educated people tend to favor premarital sex more than those with less education. This attitude is associated with a greater frequency of sex with multiple partners. Overall, these findings suggest that people with higher education are at risk for behaviors involved with the transmission of HIV.

The results at the aggregate level (Study 2) indicated that the incidence of AIDS in a region was partly explained by the educational attainment, sexual orientation, and sexual practices of the population. Overall the results suggest that educational attainment does not lower the risk of AIDS, which is contrary to popular belief. Indeed, populations with high educational attainment are more at risk of AIDS than populations with less formal schooling. These findings are in accord with MacDonald et al. (1990) and Smith (1991) who reported that college students were sexually promiscuous and at some risk for AIDS.

Policy makers need to address the fact that formal education has not substantially reduced the incidence of AIDS. In fact the results from this study

suggest that people with higher education should be targeted by programs of AIDS prevention. More highly educated people hold liberal attitudes that make them likely to engage in risky sexual behavior. AIDS prevention programs in schools or through the media will need to change the sexual attitudes of well-educated populations.

To change sexual attitudes it is necessary to provide explicit instruction on sexual behavior and its relationship to AIDS. Because AIDS prevention programs are few and relatively new, most of the respondents in this study probably received little training on how to handle sexual situations that could lead to HIV infection. This absence of explicit AIDS education probably had the greatest impact on well-educated people because their higher level of schooling inadvertently encouraged general liberal attitudes. In the area of sex these attitudes increased the chances of engaging in promiscuous behavior.

It is important to recognize that greater education does not have to result in attitudes that increase behaviors associated with the transmission of HIV. If HIV/AIDS education becomes a prominent component of the school system, younger people should eventually learn sexual attitudes and behaviors that reduce their risk for AIDS. At the same time, colleges and universities can encourage on-campus programs of AIDS prevention. These could be offered as part of the diploma or degree and organized with the assistance of student associations, faculty, and administration.

Unfortunately, explicit sex education in schools and institutes of higher education continues to be a matter of debate. For example, there remains ambiguity in the schools about instruction on the use of condoms as part of a health education program. Some people still are of the opinion that instruction on condom use will encourage young people to be more sexually promiscuous. Furthermore, specific education about homosexual practices has been discouraged even though homosexuals are the highest risk group in terms of contracting AIDS. In fact, Macklin (1991) reports that "Senator Helms was able to persuade the U.S. Senate to pass an amendment to the Labor, Health and Human Resources, and Education appropriations bill that prohibits the Centers for Disease Control from using any of the funds to provide AIDS educational activities that encourage homosexuality" (p. 504).

National policy makers often take the position that abstinence should be encouraged among young people as the best way to avoid AIDS. However, this position fails to take into account that about 75% of teenagers have had at least one coital experience (Macklin, 1991, p. 504). There is almost a complete absence of sex education in grade school and this means that sexually active youngsters seldom learn the correct information and skills about reproduction and sex (compare Rogers, 1992). It also means that teenagers and adults may have difficulty relating to their sexual partners in ways that promote safe and enjoyable sex.

The only way that sexual behavior will change is if AIDS prevention is dealt with more effectively and directly by motivating behavioral change. Macklin (1991) points out that the gay community in New York and San Francisco have recently been able to reduce their incidence of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection. The reduction in sexually transmitted diseases and HIV depended on explicit training in terms of safer sex as well as campaigns on safe



sex backed by the approval of the community. Public figures in the gay community were used as role models to instill the motivation for behavior change and social approval by significant others supported safer sexual practices (compare Macklin, 1991).

Although changes in the educational system, such as explicit instruction on sexual behaviors, are necessary if we are to reduce the incidence of AIDS, it should be stressed that the school alone cannot be expected to bring about major behavioral changes. The results from this study, being contrary to popular belief, suggest that society has placed too much faith in education as a means of controlling the spread of AIDS. Based on Hurn's (1985) review of education and social change, Robertson (1989) went on to argue that

the faith that the schools alone can bring about social change is distinctively American. As sociologists of education are increasingly pointing out, there seems to be very little empirical justification for this faith, and it may be that we have cherished expectations of the institution that it cannot fulfil alone. (p. 279)

The results obtained here tend to support the argument that high levels of education have not protected people from AIDS. Rather, formal education has inadvertently increased those behaviors that are associated with AIDS. Incorporating changes into the educational system may help to reverse this trend, but the local community and other sectors of society must also take some responsibility. National leaders need to develop a well-integrated plan to deal with the spread of AIDS that involves all levels of society (Rogers, 1992). This plan would bring together the local community leaders, health workers and professionals, organizations such as the Centers for Disease Control, and other relevant sectors of society. The objective would be to develop government policies that would in turn regulate safer sexual practices, reduce transmission of HIV, and reduce the incidence of AIDS in the population.

At the individual level, the plan would include specific grade school instruction on safer sex: targeting youngsters who are becoming sexually active. In addition, sexual skills programs would be an important new strategy. These programs would teach young men and women how to handle awkward situations involving sex (i.e., using condoms as part the foreplay to sexual intercourse). Finally, the plan would include social modeling and incentives systems to motivate and maintain behavior change (compare Kazdin, 1989).

Future research should consider using Census data for the age, gender and education variables rather than relying on survey data. It would also be of interest to include variables such as race, income and population density in the model. Given the increasing incidence in reported AIDS cases in Canada, it would be worthwhile to conduct a similar study using Canadian data. Although Canada has reported a lower incidence of AIDS in comparison to the United States, the educational policies recommended in this article should be considered in the Canadian context.

#### *Acknowledgments*

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Correspondence should be sent to the author, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, T6G 2H4.

#### Notes

1. Two different formats were used to obtain information on this question. The first was open-ended and the second closed-ended. Some respondents answered the closed-ended question and others answered the open-ended question. The open-ended question was coded to match the categories of the closed-ended question and then the data obtained for the two questions were combined.
2. Indicators of religiosity were also used in the original factor analysis but were excluded from the regression analysis for this particular study in order to focus more specifically on the effects of education.
3. Some researchers may prefer an analysis of the data based on LISREL. One difference between LISREL and path analysis is that LISREL searches for causal relationships whereas path analysis already assumes causal ordering. Because a weak causal order among the variables can at least be assumed here, path analysis is an appropriate statistical procedure. In addition to the assumption of weak causal ordering, the researcher must also assume that the relationships among the variables are causally closed, and this is tenable in the present analysis. Path analysis is primarily a method of working out the logical consequences of the two foregoing assumptions (Kim & Kohout, 1975, pp. 383, 385). The fit of the path model can be assessed from the R<sup>2</sup> coefficient of each model. The R<sup>2</sup> for a model may be interpreted as the proportionate reduction in error in predicting the dependent variable from knowledge of the independent variables operating jointly.
4. Survey research generates a cross-sectional data structure. Because of this limitation, there is always some concern about the time ordering of the variables. A researcher cannot be sure that the predictors actually preceded the variation in the dependent variable. Also, the aggregation of survey data is sometimes problematic because regions may not be well represented when individuals are the sampling units. Census data are preferred for aggregate analysis, but attitudinal and behavioral measures are usually not included in the census information. The present study is conducted within these limitations.

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Keith D. Walker

University of Saskatchewan

## Notions of "Ethical" Among Senior Educational Leaders

*This article describes a study of the ethical definitions characterizing the moral wrestlings of members of the Saskatchewan League of Educational Administrators, Directors and Superintendents (LEADS). LEADS is a professional public service organization empowered by provincial statute to register and monitor senior educational administrators who in turn are charged with the responsibility for delivering education (elementary and secondary level) to the public of one of Canada's 10 provinces. The leaders' a priori definitions of "ethical" are described and analyzed in the research presented in this article. The article describes the ethical consciousness of senior public administrators and identifies the various meanings associated with the notion of ethical. These discrete definitional understandings provide the basis for a description of the notion of ethical and demonstrate an alternative research approach to describing the ethical orientations of educational leaders.*

*Cet article décrit une étude des définitions de l'éthique qui caractérise les dilemmes moraux des membres du Saskatchewan League of Educational Administrators, Directors and Superintendents (LEADS). LEADS est une organisation professionnelle de services publics sanctionnée par statut provincial pour indiquer et surveiller les administrateurs éducatifs seniors qui, à leur tour, sont chargés de la responsabilité de l'éducation (des niveaux élémentaire et secondaire) envers le public dans une des dix provinces du Canada. Dans cette recherche, les définitions a priori de "l'éthique" d'après ces leaders en éducation sont données et analysées. L'article décrit la conscience éthique de ces administrateurs publics seniors et identifie différentes significations associées à cette notion d'éthique. C'est en se servant de ces définitions discrètes et personnelles que l'on arrive à formuler une description de la notion de l'éthique et qu'on puisse démontrer une méthode de recherche alternative pour décrire l'orientation de ces leaders en éducation qui serait conforme à l'éthique telle que décrite.*

The purpose of this article is to offer some insight into the meaning of everyday ethical decision making from the perspective of senior educational leaders. The guiding parameter for this research was related to exploring the meanings associated with the notion of ethical by educational leaders. The research methods included the use of surveys and intensive interviews.

The field of educational administration has only rarely researched the nature of ethical decision making in an exploratory and descriptive fashion. This is to say, with Gronn (1987) and Enns (1981), that there have been few examples of "systematic attempts to describe, analyze and explain everyday administration as it [is] experienced by people, let alone to seek to learn from those experiences" (Gronn, 1987, pp. 105-106) and that past "approaches for understanding and shaping human activities ... have failed to take full account of the major dimensions of human existence, namely, the ethical-moral" (Enns,

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Keith Walker is with the Department of Educational Administration. His teaching and research interests concern applied and professional ethics, the philosophies and politics of educational leadership, and pastoral care in educational communities.



1981, pp. 1-8). Certainly their assessment requires some significant updating as one thinks of Sergiovanni (1990, 1992), Leithwood and Musella (1991), Hodgkinson (1991), Maxy (1991), Ashbaugh and Kasten (1991), Smyth (1989), and Foster (1986) who have recently begun to address (or readdress) the ethical domain in educational administration. These more recent educational leadership books seem to be doing more than “flirting with values” (Macpherson, 1985, p. 20). Leithwood and Musella (1991) were able to locate only 38 studies on the superintendency. These authors have noted that previous superintendency researchers have given their greatest attention to leader practices, with much less attention to internal processes (attitudes, values, and beliefs). This study addresses this deficit by considering the specific nature of ethical decision making of superintendents (N=188), as understood from their definitional perspectives.

The usual research approaches in applied ethics have been oriented toward observation of behaviors or the analysis of participant responses to preconceived situations or ethical challenges. This article complements such orientations through a methodology that allowed the leaders to voice their own meanings and understanding with respect to the nature of ethical decision making. Toffler (1986), Bird and Waters (1987) and Jackall (1988) are representative of the very few researchers who have sought to develop first-hand reports of the nature of ethical decision making among administrators. This article describes a research project that set out to let administrators speak for themselves rather than asking them to measure up to a priori ethical templates.

The survey respondents were directors (44%), superintendents (21%), assistant superintendents (20%), and regional directors of education (5%). With respect to the interviewees, more than half were from rural divisions and represented divisions ranging from 10 schools to over 60 schools in size. In total the 20 directors had 5,161 instructional staff and 86,513 students in their jurisdictions. The leaders were asked to supply their views on the definition of ethical. Two interviews were conducted with each of 20 randomly selected directors of education to discover, explore, elaborate, and interpret their definitions. Further data were collected from the organization’s archives.

I attempted to go beyond superficial descriptions (*begreifen* in Ladd, 1957) to look, rather, at leaders’ understandings from an inside perspective (*verstehen*). As Toffler (1986) explains in the introduction to her study on the ethics of managers, “the absence of ... first hand reports—and the need for them in order to expand both knowledge ... and ... practice itself” (p. 3) prompted the development of her study. This presentation reports findings that respond to the question: “what do educational leaders say ethical decision making in their profession means?” Bird and Waters (1987) have alerted those researching in the ethical domain that leaders will not likely be systematic or traditional in their use of ethical language. This article organizes the data collected from these leaders into categories and takes due care to guard the integrity of the meanings and contexts of their particular ethical wrestling. Jackall (1988), in his attempt to report on the first-hand moral experiences of corporate managers, says, “managers may disagree with some of the broader interpretations of their experiences suggested here. I have tried, however, to capture the complexities, ambiguities and anxieties of their world” (p. vii).

Similarly, I attempt to provide the reader with a sense of the definitional nature of ethical decision making among the members of the Saskatchewan League of Educational Administrators, Directors and Superintendents (LEADS). It is interesting to note that the LEADS organization derives its responsibilities from its own provincial statute and code of ethics. The League is legally and morally mandated to ensure, among other things, that high ethical standards are sustained among its members.

### *Definitions for the Notion of "Ethical"*

The question addressed by this article asks: how do educational leaders define the word *ethical*? Although the meaning of such a term of reference is often assumed, the article suggests that there was indeed a variance in the understandings associated with this common descriptor. I used both direct and indirect means for deriving definitions from the sample.

#### *Direct Definitions from Survey*

In response to a survey question that asked, "according to your use and understanding, what is the meaning of the word *ethical*?" the responses ranged from objective and external types of references to subjective and personalized types of references. Some respondents expressed definitions related to philosophic or principled truth, whereas others oriented their responses to thinking about the word *ethical* in terms of specific rules of behavior. Some respondents inclined their definitions to a more generic dictionary-type definition. In other words, some respondents considered the source (epistemological), some the reality (ontological), and some the definitional (synonymic) character of the word *ethical*.

*Ethical as subjectively or objectively derived.* It was most common for leaders to describe ethical as either objectively or subjectively derived. By the term *objective* we mean that the responses referred to some code, principle, or point of reference beyond or external to the individual decision maker. For example, some respondents said that ethical was: "conforming to the standards of conduct of a given profession," "acting in a fashion that takes into account the standards set legally within the Education Act and also with the [professional organization's] code of ethics," "based on Christian principles" or "moral reasoning and behavior that reflect 'universally' accepted principles of conduct." Those responding with these types of definitions seemed to tie the source or origin of standards or expectations to objects beyond their own person. In other words, they viewed the concept of ethical in terms of principles, guidelines, or codes that they had derived or discovered from societal, professional, or religious sources. This view held that the meaning of ethical was independent of the educational leader.

Those responding with subjectively oriented definitions of ethical expressed a leader-dependent understanding of what was meant and what was not meant by the term *ethical*. For example, some respondents said: "I behave ethically when I do things that make life better for me and people around me," "[ethical is] behavior harmonious with the ideals of a democratic society that include: sensitivity to right and wrong; the use of one's personal philosophy and beliefs as a guide to individual behavior; and a regard for the dignity and worth of every human being" or "[ethical is] doing what is right ... listening to



your conscience.” For those responding along these lines, the emphasis seemed to be related to a personal, individual, or subjective sense of what might be right or wrong, good or bad, virtuous or vicious.

Some responses combined these objective and subjective orientations. For example, some respondents said that the word *ethical* refers to: “behavior and actions which are made on the basis of certain beliefs and principles held by an individual. These beliefs and principles in our society are consistent with the Golden Rule and the principles of natural justice,” “those ‘rules’ or practices (written or unwritten) which guide an individual in both personal and work life” or “behavior which is congruous with our own personal, or more importantly, a professional code of values or ethics.” These respondents indicated that both personal and extrapersonal ways and sources of knowing provide the criteria for determining what might be appropriately labeled “ethical.” One might infer from these definitions that, for these respondents, ethical behavior consisted of “harmonizing” or blending the two (internal and external) ways or sources of understanding. Forty-two percent of respondents chose to express an objective definition, 32% indicated a subjective definition, and 23% of the educational leaders replied with a conjunctive definition.

*Ethical as rational or behavioral.* Two additional ways of categorizing responses to the direct request for a definition of the word *ethical* are related to rational and behavioral types of responses. Those definitions oriented to principles, processes or the person’s state of being are categorized as rational type responses. Another type of response emphasized observable behavior or its effects. Some definitions contained elements of both the rational and behavioral orientations.

In the former instances the respondents typically provided a more general definition of ethical and offered some virtues or principles that they equated with the status of “being ethical.” For example, ethical was said to be: “consistent with being morally right; without ill-malice and based on sound principles,” “to make decisions that are fair and honest—treating other people with dignity and respect” or “it means responsibility, fairness, justice, compassion and rights.”

On the other hand, behavior and conduct-oriented responses such as the following were also expressed: “acting in a morally responsible fashion” or “to act within the parameters of acceptable and standard guidelines.” The reader will notice that these definitions focus on the educational leader’s conformity to sets of behavioral rules or codes of conduct, whereas in the case of rational definitions the emphasis was on ideational constructions.

The subtle differences between these two set of definitions might be simply expressed as the difference between general ethical aspirations and more specific ethical actions. In some instances the responses contained elements of both behavioral expectation and rational imperatives. For example, respondents said: “ethical refers to behavior and actions which are made on the basis of certain beliefs and principles held by an individual. These beliefs and principles in our society are consistent with the Golden Rule and the principles of natural justice” or “being ethical means that one abides by a moral code.” It is to be noted that the above definitions sought to harmonize thinking and acting through choosing.

It may be said that survey respondents usually expressed their definitions of the word *ethical* in either rational or behavioral terms. Fifty percent of leaders considered ethical to be related to rules of conduct or behavior and 38% indicated that they viewed ethical in rational or philosophic terms, having to do with the state of being of persons rather than the state of doing. The survey results indicated that 10% of leaders held to a definition that had elements of both orientations.

*Ethical as analogous.* The survey respondents also seemed to define the word *ethical* by simply supplying equivalent phrases, much like one would find in a dictionary. These responses indicated the respondents held that the word *ethical* was clearly related to describing the rightness or wrongness of an act or attitude. Twenty-three percent of responses were so stated, as indicated by the following examples: "the just, fair, and appropriate thing to do. Moral behavior," "morally correct behavior in a professional setting," "making the 'correct' decision, based on high standards of moral reasoning" or "ethical is what is morally correct—in simple terms ethical is to do what is right."

#### *Direct Definitions from Interviewees*

When those being interviewed were asked to define what the word *ethical* meant to them, their responses provided some further elaborations to those described through the survey responses. Those interviewed related the term *ethical* to one or more of the following themes: community values, dichotomies, core ethical values, and the difficulties inherent in or resulting from the concept of ethical.

*Ethical as community values.* One community-values conscious director said,

I think for us, the people elected to be on the Board represent the community. They bring the community ethic with them so far as what is "right" and what is "wrong" in that community. Some years ago, if a teacher's car was parked in front of the pub that was a wrong thing—there are those kinds of things [that define ethics]. They expect their employees to live within ethical boundaries. They don't get into specifics like marriage is prerequisite, if living with someone, but if you go into the community as a staff member and you stir up something that really is going against the direction that the Board wants the school to go—they aren't happy.

This director defined ethics in terms of the community mores or values. Ethical boundaries were not specifically stated but taken for granted, until they were transgressed. Even after a transgression of community values had been identified, the actual ethical criteria may not have been explicitly stated with the various forms of censure or discipline. From an educational perspective, the director held that the board defined these ethical boundaries and that these had changed over the years. At the time of these interviews, the director felt that the community ethic had become less precisely defined. It would seem that stirring people up and disrupting the community might produce a definition of specific "rights" and "wrongs." The director believed he should live within the community boundaries, with other employees, in order to be consistent with the board of education qua community. Ethical, then, was conceived of as a set of boundaries established by the community. The reader will note that this view of ethical is effect-oriented. Ethical consideration comes into play



when the status quo is upset or, in other words, when a boundary is transgressed. Other directors spoke of the notion of ethical from the perspective of the school system and the larger community. One used the words “kid-centered, rural, small ‘c’ conservative, family-oriented and ten commandment-types” to provide a definition for the term *ethical*.

*Ethical as conceptual dichotomies.* A number of the directors indicated that they felt there were some concept dichotomies that helped them to define the term *ethical*. These dichotomies tended to spell out the limits of the term ethical both contextually and conceptually. For example, certain directors viewed ethical values as a rather wide classification of values that could be held by anyone, whereas morals were “more or less Catholic,” in the church sense. “While we constantly live with the ethical, when you are working with people,” this leader thought, “the ethical realm is more obvious.” This administrator suggested that if one was working with people, one was obliged, ethically, to treat them “fairly and correctly.” Ethical was, then, defined by the right or wrong way of dealing with people or issues. The leader said, “I think morals are more or less Catholic values whereas ethics are anyone’s values—it’s just what is right and wrong. I think you live in the ethical realm all of the time. It is more obvious in some contexts. For example, when dealing with something people-oriented—you’ve got to treat people fairly and correctly.”

Another leader also differentiated between morals and ethics but suggested that for him morality “has to do with one’s life-decisions” and ethics has “to do with honesty ... public good, unselfishness and professional behavior.” Although he understood ethics as the wider term, his experiences and the results of past behavior had informed his ethical beliefs such that what he considered to be ethical had “become tighter and tighter.” In other words, this director felt that he had become less tolerant of some behaviors. He felt he could more easily make definite decisions that he had considered difficult to make at points earlier in his career. On the other hand, moral decisions—having to do with “good or bad, sin versus doing right”—had become fuzzier. He was more hesitant about making moral decisions than he had been earlier in his life. Ethical would appear to have been related more to the public or social life and career of this leader, whereas the morality of the leader was related to personal or private behaviors or decisions. He said,

I see a difference between morals and ethics. Morals are related to good or bad, sin versus doing right ... It has to do with one’s life decisions. Ethics I consider having to do with honesty and with the public good, unselfishness and professional behavior. I see ethics as a larger area than morals and I used to see morals as black and white issues—but now I see the whole area of morality as a less definite area, whereas, in terms of ethics, my ethical beliefs and what I tolerate as ethical has become tighter and tighter during my career. This is partly because of experiences, partly because I see that some behavior has negative results and some has positive results so I am able to make definite decisions about ethical behavior that I couldn’t make 20 years ago ... I am unable to make decisions about moral behavior that I wouldn’t have hesitated to make 20 years ago.

*Ethical as common life principles.* Other directors expressed their view concerning the meaning of the word *ethical* by indicating that certain core principles were ethical in nature. These leaders were consistent in their view that

one must both ascribe to these core life principles and practice them to earn the descriptor *ethical* as a characterization of one's leadership. One director viewed ethical as "embedded" in the ways that people in the organization thought and behaved in relation to others. His organization had at his initiative developed a policy that expressed a three-component definition of the duties associated with being ethical. These he called "duties of care" or "caring principles." Due regard for individuals, professional practice, and due process constituted this ethic of care. He expressed himself in the following manner:

I would think the ethical issues are embedded inside other things. I tend to try to think of ethical concerns as fundamental human issues. We have a policy developed as a part of the philosophy statement called the "duty of care." In it, we suggest that everyone in the organization has the right to care. The three components to the duty of care are due regard for the human individual, diligence and hard work as one carries out their professional obligations and, thirdly, due process or fair treatment. We argue that these [ethical] principles should underlie everything we do.

Several directors saw ethical as being related to fair treatment of people and the avoidance of harmful effects in decision making. Others suggested, similarly, that to be ethical one must be "fair and square" as well as being perceived to be so. One leader equated ethical with the notion of integrity. His view was very close to that of the previously quoted director who also expressed his belief that "systems [are] all connected" and therefore one should appreciate that each participant in the system has the potential of affecting the whole. The integrity-oriented leader believed that one must not be seen as self-serving, but rather be oriented to the good of the students and the staff. Ethical, then, was related to the leader's capacity to actually be, and to be perceived to be, one who would put the good of students under care as his or her first priority. This leader said, "integrity is the first of all moral considerations. One must be perceived to be for the good of the students and staff. When one becomes self-serving then the leader begins to lack integrity."

*Ethical as difficult.* The final theme emerging from the direct question "what does the term *ethical* mean to you?" pointed to difficulties. For some the descriptor *ethical* applied to problems that were difficult. One interviewee, for example, understood ethical to be related to situational conflicts, dilemmas, or grey areas wherein "there are no easy answers." He referred to being faced with "the ethical" when being "caught" with no previous experience or guidelines and having to work through the problem by "building on hunches." Ethical problems were, to some, understood to be value judgments emerging from situations that are not already resolved or settled.

One of the interviewees defined the notion of ethical as the source of some consternation for both him and his board because of differences in their respective views. His board saw issues in a more black and white fashion than did he. The leader himself saw ethics more as dealing with noneducational issues such as abortion, premarital sex, and cheating on income tax returns than with educational problems. Ethical was thought of as being a matter of right or wrong and demanding a weighing of arguments to determine permissibility. He had difficulty with seeing educational issues as clearly ethical in this sense. Although he acknowledged that such issues were probably in the education



system, he believed that his own involvement in the system made educational sorts of issues rather “grey-oriented.” His board members, on the other hand, were more definitive in their identification of the notion of ethical as related to issues and dilemmas in the educational realm.

#### *Indirect Definitions of Ethical from Interviewees*

*Ethical as heroes and villains.* The interviewer asked each director of education two questions concerning their view of what might constitute the meaning of the notion of ethical. These two questions concerned describing ethical heroes and ethical villains. The interviewee responses provided me with data from which the characteristics of an ethical and an unethical person might be indirectly derived. During the interviews directors were asked what it would take to be an ethical villain in their school jurisdiction. In other words, what would I have to do to be considered an ethically bad person? This question was oriented to determining the directors’ view of what the organization would consider to be sacred and what might be considered to be profane. In some instances the respondents referred to particular behaviors, some to attitudes and affiliations, some to attributes, some to attentions and intentions. Each of these descriptions provided an indirect insight into these leaders’ views of what was meant by the words *ethical* and *unethical*. It is interesting to note that the directors of education could much more readily describe ethical villains than heroes: this, then, provided a thicker negative description of the concept than it did a positive one.

One director spoke with emotion as he reflected on a person whom he considered to be an outstanding example of an ethical hero. This person loved and cared for children. He was a naturally effective school leader who worked hard and made relationships a priority. This man was ethical because he recognized the importance of people, especially schoolchildren, and worked exceptionally well with them. In the director’s view the principal had sacrificed some personal and professional goods to the benefit of “the kids”:

I can think of an ethical hero in our division. He finds a way of embracing every kid who comes into his school—he loves them and cares for them. He’s never read any of the effective school literature but he does everything. He’s got relationships together and is a real hard worker. He could do my job (director) better than me—but he chooses to do what he’s doing.

Some ethical villains were defined by their exploitation of weaker persons for purposes of self-gratification as in the instance of sexual abuse. Some ethical transgressions were deemed so because certain persons had extended their roles beyond appropriate limits. These ethical villains ranged, then, from invaders of persons (as in cases of child abusers) to invaders or interlopers of role responsibilities (as in board members “doing administrative mischief”). To provide the reader with other examples of the perceived range of behaviors and attitudes considered commensurate with the label “ethical villain” or “ethical hero” several responses are displayed below:

In our division we probably have one major ethical villain a year that is dealt with. Deliberate lies, falsifying reports and major theft are considered ethical infringements by our Board. The abuse of children is the worst of all transgressions. Buying booze for kids is an example of a past ethical infringement that

resulted in dismissal. Not following explicit directions of Board or Director is considered [ethically] wrong.

Another educational leader said, "making out with a high school girl would put you on the road pretty quick ... Screwing around with the finances ... Misleading on your expense claims. Undermining the Board in a deliberate way."

*Ethical as mandate-oriented.* More specific "laws of ethics" were formulated by the directors related to the concepts of a mandated duty or public trust that required more of an educational leader than mere legal compliance. These notions were generally centered around the leader's responsibility to be child-focused. In instances where this mandate-oriented ethic was presented as an aid to define the word *ethical*, it was common for directors to see themselves as the guardians of the mandate and view others as more likely candidates for related "ethical failings." Failing to do one's job of providing for children (i.e., because of alcoholism problems) was cited as unethical. "One should be more responsible to the public and professional trust," according to one interviewee. He said, "anytime one's own private behavior impinges, negatively, on the welfare of children then the person should be responsible enough to censure themselves." To fail ethically had two aspects: getting into a position of not being able to do work with "kids" properly and, second, to fail to recognize and correct such a situation. One administrator defined being ethical as "doing an unpleasant duty well and professionally, in spite of personal feelings."

*Ethical as people-favoring.* For some educators ethical people were exemplified as those committed to the other persons in the organization. One leader said, "you become a hero here by virtue of hard work, personality and how you treat people." This administrator associated ethical with choosing to work hard and treat people in an appropriate fashion. These would appear at first consideration to be matters of choice, whereas his other feature is personality, which may be understood to be less volitionally oriented. When asked to elaborate, the director indicated that being ethical had to do with balancing work accomplishment and people advocacy. The leader's personality mediated, in his view, between these two demands, and the proper balance of these two criteria determined whether one was deemed to be ethical or not.

*Ethical as a vice-avoiding.* Mistreating or exploiting people, treating them with indifference, or other forms of abuse were all cited as examples of behaviors or attitudes that formed negative meanings of the term *ethical*. If one were to undermine people because of personal preferences or to try to oust someone from her or his job for insufficient cause, these behaviors would in some directors' estimations be unethical. They cited the creation of imbalances in accounts of information through false reporting or withholding important information as ethically wrong behaviors. The idea of confidentiality was often used by administrators to describe the tensions between the determination of what constitutes ethical and the unethical. The whole realm of confidentiality was considered as ethically imbued. Sharing information of privilege was also seen as a transgression of professional privilege and a sign of indiscriminate betrayal of trust. One director called this "telling tales out of school." One director said, "taking comments about colleagues into the community or dis-



cussing children's behavior and abilities outside professional channels or evaluating superordinates anywhere with anyone" as examples of unethical practice. "Ethical villains are people who break confidentiality, spreading gossip," indicated one director.

*Ethical as befitting a community.* Many of the leaders related the notion of ethical to community values and standards. A number of directors made reference to religious beliefs. Ethical heroes were insiders and ethical villains were outsiders. An unethical person is one who practices a lifestyle inconsistent with the "basic ethical code" developed by the people [of the religiously oriented community] over the years. It was felt that those who subjected themselves, in compliance, to these community-wide belief sets would be deemed to be ethical. For example, they said, "[in our community] an ethical hero is basically somebody with the same religious affiliation, not necessarily the same church but basically the same beliefs" or "from a lifestyle standpoint a person jeopardizes their ethical status and employment by obviously defying the Church."

Other leaders conceived of the ethical hero as a consistent, task-oriented protector of the educational rather than a religious community. For these leaders the ethical person was one who could determine educational values in a consistent fashion and stick with these value-driven priorities. These directors also indicated a belief that an ethical hero appreciates the vulnerability of educational leaders and expresses a loyalty to them by immediately defending them from those who would be critical. An example of this type of community perspective is reflected in the following statement:

Ethical heroes set priorities and goals then work single-mindedly in pursuit of these. They don't let things impinge upon these goals. They protect their fellow workers. Ethical heroes jump to the defense of their leaders who are being shot at and are consistent in their characteristic responses to decisions and situations.

*Ethical as rational, but not self-interested.* In contrast to the rather altruistic and community-minded definitions and descriptions above, some leaders pointed to the profane propensity of some leaders to act out of self-interest. These attitudes and behaviors were viewed with particular disdain as unethical. Examples of this self-interest were exemplified by self-aggrandizement, crossing normative role expectations, position abuse, and insensitivity to established community practices. For example, they said it was unethical "to do something because of self-interest, because you are going to gain from it and to sacrifice students." "These are people who use their position for personal gain or who present themselves as having competencies that they really don't have," said another director of education.

A number of directors expressed the view that thinking characterized by unreasonableness or thoughtlessness was to be considered unethical and a serious affront to the group's professional ethics. Further, some directors believed that unethical acts were those that would be considered to be unreasoned by the average person. An example of these meanings for ethical was related by a director who felt that the mere fact that a person would choose to rationally address issues and struggle with conflicting ethical demands constituted an act of ethical heroism. An ethical person is one who is seen by others to be thoughtful, reasonable, and willing to contend with moral challenges.

Beyond the particular choices or the moral processes that lead to "ethical" decisions, this leader felt that a leader's willingness to participate in difficult issues distinguished that person as ethical. "People," he said, "who wrestle with tough choices and demands are ethical heroes."

### *Summary*

The leaders in this study defined the word *ethical* in a variety of ways. The first of these focused on the respondents' perception of their source of "ethical" authority, either objective (external) or subjective (internal). Definitions were also categorized by leaders as referring to either behavioral or rational constructs. Some respondents utilized synonymous terms to define their view of the word *ethical*. Definitions of ethical were often related as the reflection and alignment of community values and boundaries to common life principles and to conceptual dichotomies. The indirectly derived definitions of the word *ethical* emerged through what in leaders' estimations would constitute an ethical hero or a villain (the unethical person). Accordingly, the ethical person was considered to be law-abiding, child- and education-oriented, people-friendly, and virtuous in regard to others, a conformer to community mores and a rational-altruist. Each of these orientations provides a slightly distinctive color or texture to the meaning of the word *ethical* for the leaders who expressed their understandings.

### *Implications of this Study*

Ethical reflection take[s] place in the actual situations of choice and action ... Academic ethics must take these situations of human moral wrestling as the primary material of ethics and bring resources that enhance the quality of judgement and action. (McCoy, 1985, p. 22)

### *Implications for Theory*

The implications for theory that may be drawn from these research findings are numerous. Educational leaders have described their various meanings for the term *ethical* and these reflect the diverse moral sense of educational leaders. The finding that leaders differ in their understandings of what constitutes ethical is not to be interpreted to mean that these various meanings are in conflict. The more specific nature and relationship of the various notions of ethical warrant further investigation. For example, what are the presuppositional grounds that accompany these different understandings and expressions of ethical? What are the key meta-ethical issues inherent in these extant notions (i.e., responsibility, fairness, justice, compassion, and rights)? Although we have formal legal definitions for many of these key ethical concepts, what are the tacit definitions held by educational leaders? The described notions of ethical held by these leaders remain unchallenged by traditional ethical analysis. In other words, now that the notions of ethical have been described, how do these understandings relate to the various historical and conceptual schools of moral philosophy? The notion of common life principles, for example, raises many theoretical questions. One might ask whether these common life principles are related to leaders' contextual roles or to universal principles? To what extent are "core" life principles unchanging and absolute, transient and relative, particular or universal? To what extent do educational



leaders reflect deontological, utilitarian, or natural law orientations in their understandings of the notion of ethical?

With respect to the leaders' definitions of the concept of ethical, it is apparent that educational leaders are relatively untouched by the sophisticated and technical nomenclature of moral philosophy. This is consistent with Bird and Waters' (1987) findings that leaders are not likely to be systematic or traditional in their use of ethical language. Perhaps philosophers and practitioners would benefit from learning each other's language as a step toward growing in their appreciation of and access to each other's domain. I would suggest that the descriptions contained in this study provide a starting place for such undertakings. General ethical theorists may have a greater contribution to make when they have gained an understanding of the leaders' everyday world.

### *Implications for Research*

The implications for research derived from this study point to a number of alternate directions that future research might take. As indicated at the outset of this article, the usual research approaches in applied ethics have been oriented toward the observation of behaviors or the analysis of participant responses to preconceived situations or ethical challenges. This article reports an alternative research approach that allowed educational leaders to voice their own understandings with respect to the notion of ethical. The point of this approach has been to determine some of the a priori conceptions of educational leaders with respect to the meaning of ethical. It has been said that,

Administrators must develop skill in thinking about ethical problems, toward the end of creating a working professional ethic of their own. Without cultivating this ability to theorize and generalize from experiences, no public administrator can transcend the boundaries of particular events to comprehend and assess them. Without the illumination born of the marriage of abstract thought and practical experience, it is impossible to see where we are going. (Cooper, 1990, pp. 2-3)

I would suggest that applied ethics research in educational administration needs to be pursued on at least five broadly conceived fronts: descriptions of the ethical content of educational leader decision making (their problems, issues and conflicts); analyses of the normative ethical content of leader decision making (nature and relationship of formal ethical theory to leaders' commonsense ethical decision making); descriptions and analyses of the decisional processes (leaders' internal cognitions and affections in response to ethical challenges in education); descriptions and analyses of the contextual influences impinging on leader decision making (both exogenous and endogenous factors); and descriptions and analyses of the fundamental grounds used by educational leaders to resolve complex ethical conflict. This study represents only one dimension of the first approach (describing the extant ethical content of educational leaders, as related to their notions of ethical). Future research that thoughtfully considers the ethics of educational leaders, through any of the above approaches, will make a significant contribution to theory and practice in educational administration.

### *Implications for Practice*

The implications of this study for practice may be cited in both general and specific terms. Every attempt must be made to demythologize ethics for the population. A number of the educational leaders involved in this study expressed a sense of intimidation with respect to ethics or, on the other hand, an apathetic attitude toward the subject. In general, the educational leaders in this study commonly expressed either an unrealistic set of ethical expectations (i.e., absolute ethical purity) or an extremely cynical view of ethics that held ethical integrity as an unattainable and unsustainable state. Practically, these polar perspectives might best be displaced by thoughtful and user-friendly approaches to the ethical domain. This might begin with the affirmation that within this particular professional group there was evidence of considerable ethical acumen. Rather than dealing with ethics exclusively from a professional discipline and policing orientation, the LEADS organization might instead develop a curriculum of ethics education for new members, including a more formalized system of ethical mentorship and networking. With respect to the professional disciplining of LEADS members as required by provincial statute, one might question the efficacy and practicality of an organizational code of ethics wherein members mean different things when they read words therein such as *ethical*. An implication of the finding that there is variation in the ways members think about ethics and wrestle with issues might entail incorporating this diversity into their collective ethics code.

I have observed that although no definitions for the notion ethical seemed to exclude positive ethical orientations of others, the wide range of understandings contributed to a general ethical malaise and seemed to encumber members from engaging in more ideal levels of moral conversation. Bird and Waters (1989), in their study of managers, consider the phenomenon of moral muteness among administrators. The implications of collective and individual ethical muteness, from a lack of definitional consensus, may indeed retard ethical development and result in fewer ethical initiatives by members with other members. Further, if the language of ethics is understood to be subject to great variance in interpretation, explicit consideration of the ethical domain in educational decisions may be less common. The advantages gained by collaborative deliberations on difficult ethical issues may be either diminished or enriched by this lack of definitional consensus. Those with influence in this particular professional organization may choose to celebrate, rather than mourn, this diversity of definition in order to encourage ethical dialogue and overcome ethical muteness. Individual educational leaders and their professional organizations, given such varied definitions, may also be predisposed to either operating with sententious or taken-for-granted definitions of ethical. There are, of course, many professional and organizational dysfunctions that attend to such tendencies. I would suggest that these findings point to the importance of educational leaders asking interpretative questions rather than assuming definitional consensus or embracing unfounded ethical positions.

In conclusion, perhaps the greatest practical implication of this descriptive research is its contribution to the particular educational leaders involved in the study. The findings provide a basis of information by which leaders may develop better understandings of, and learn from, the ways that their peers



conceive of the notion of ethical. The article provides definitions of ethical beyond descriptions of understandings (*begreifen*) that are imputed to leaders by deriving descriptions from leaders (*verstehen*) by listening to their voices. The purpose of this article is to offer readers an insight into the one aspect of the meaning of everyday ethical decision making for senior educational leaders through an alternate research methodology.

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R.J. Carney

and

H.W. Hodysh

University of Alberta

## History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching: The Alberta Experience 1893-1945

*The history of education was among the first subjects to be studied by those preparing to teach in the Province of Alberta. As such the subject was an early manifestation of attempts to relate theoretical principles of teaching to educational practice. Its significance in the normal schools and the University of Alberta from 1893 to 1945 is explored with reference to the subject's formative role in the transitional stage of Arnold van Gennep's concept of The Rites of Passage. Explored is the central hypothesis that teacher educators saw the history of education as a core element in providing a unique body of professional values and standards to those wanting to teach in the province's publicly supported schools.*

*Autrefois, l'histoire de l'éducation était un des premiers sujets qu'étudiaient ceux qui se préparaient à enseigner dans la province de l'Alberta. Tel qu'il était conçu, ce sujet peut être aperçu comme étant une manifestation hâtive qui essayait de relier les principes théoriques de l'enseignement à la pratique éducative. Son importance dans les écoles normales et à l'Université de l'Alberta entre 1893 et 1945 est explorée en faisant référence au rôle formatif de ce sujet dans les stages transitionnels du concept énoncé dans Les rites de passage de Arnold van Gennep. On explore l'hypothèse centrale que ceux qui formaient les enseignant(e)s percevaient l'histoire de l'éducation comme étant un élément central pour munir les futurs enseignant(e)s qui voulaient enseigner dans les écoles publiques de la province, un bagage de connaissances normalisées et de valeurs professionnelles.*

When Carr (1987) suggests that institutional values shape our understanding of the past, he is indicating their effect not only on the process of historical inquiry, but perhaps more importantly on how values emanating from that process have influenced our understanding of events. Most historians of education, until recently at least, would agree with Carr's observation, noting that in the process of teacher education those values emerging from such study have had a significant effect on the theory and practice of teaching. As is shown, these remarks have particular relevance for the Province of Alberta from the late 19th to the mid-20th century where the normal schools and the University of Alberta shared value judgments about the role of educational

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Robert Carney is a professor in the Department of Educational Foundations. His research interests include the history of schooling in the North, intercultural education, and the history of Canadian education. He is currently writing a monograph on residential schools in the Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith.

Henry Hodysh is a professor in the Department of Educational Foundations. He has published widely in the field of educational history where questions of historical theory and the uses of the educational past remain a continuing focus of his research.



history in teacher training. To use van Gennepe's (1960) analysis, history of education<sup>1</sup> became an integral element of a rite of passage to teaching.

Published as *Les rites de passage* in 1908, van Gennepe's examination of the values and rituals associated with such major personal changes as puberty and marriage in tribal societies subsequently influenced research on social status and professional socialization (Chapple & Coon, 1942). This was particularly evident in studies of teacher education and training<sup>2</sup> after the work was translated into English in 1960. An early use of van Gennepe's concept can be found in Fuch's (1969) *Teachers Talk*, where the beginning teacher's first formal evaluation is identified as the most significant event in the rite of passage to teaching. Subsequent teacher training research, which used the rite of passage as a model, has frequently assigned similar significance to evaluations of teaching during the training period (see, e.g., Eisenhart, Behm, & Romagnano, 1991; Gehrke, 1991; Hale & Staratt, 1989; Sylwester, 1987; Tinto, 1988; White, 1989). Even those like Lacey (1987) who regret the lack of research on later stages of teacher socialization recognize the importance of the initial teacher formation period:

The middle ... years of professional life have been almost totally neglected. The reasons for this are fairly clear. The training period is the stage where the neophyte professional is being consciously shaped by others, the trainers. There is, therefore, an interest in the outcome of this process because in theory it can be altered to produce "better" or different results. The researcher is also drawn to study this period because it is a stage of massive personal reorientation and change, a *rite of passage*. (p. 637)

Most research on this question emphasizes methods and evaluations of classroom practice. An example can be found in White's (1989) "Student Teaching as a Rite of Passage" where she contends that the body of cultural knowledge gained by neophyte teachers through mastery of classroom routines is an essential step in achieving teaching competence. She makes it clear, however, that the acquisition of "several basic tenets about teaching," should not be grounded on feelings or impulse, or, as some critics of teachers' knowledge would have it, on a "mixture of idiosyncratic experience and personal synthesis." What needs to be pursued, in her opinion, is "the study of a cultural body of knowledge [about teaching] that is transmitted and acquired from generation to generation" (p. 192). Both White and Eisenhart et al. (1991) lament the tension that exists between teaching theories and teaching practices. In the view of Eisenhart et al. this tension has led to a tendency among student teachers "to disregard the university as a source of information about teaching" (p. 66). One might conclude from such studies that theories of teaching in history of education courses would have no place in the rites of passage to teaching advocated by White (1989) and others. On the other hand, one could infer the opposite possibility, given White's call on the teaching profession "to ensure that its version of reality and in particular its fundamental tenets will be accepted and transmitted" (p. 178). Her affirmation evokes what appears to be a longstanding belief among those responsible for teacher education in Alberta; namely, that the study of educational history makes a significant contribution to a unique body of professional values, knowledge, and practice.

The central hypothesis of this study is that the purpose of the history of education, as a core element in the rite of passage to teaching in Alberta from the 1890s to the 1950s, was to provide beginning teachers with a set of professional values and standards. In the discussion that follows it is shown that the values and norms transmitted in history of education courses were based, as Harvey (1986) would argue, on a universe that was viewed as being objective and unchangeable. Those values were reflected in the purpose and content of teacher training and education. What, then, was the nature of educational history as a field of study at the normal schools and the University of Alberta? And how as a rite of passage did its development reflect underlying value judgments about standards or principles of worth in the education of teachers? (compare Kaplan, 1964, p. 370).

### *Background*

The history of education as a key subject in teacher training in English-speaking Canada is evident as early as the 19th century in the normal schools of Ontario and elsewhere, and in the 20th century in university-based teacher education. This was particularly so in Alberta, where most teacher educators have supported the view that the study of educational history gives a theoretical, value-related basis for an understanding of the nature and methods of education in the schools, providing, as it were, "a cultural body of knowledge" about teaching (White, 1989, p. 192). According to van Genne (1960), a rite of passage—such as the movement from adolescence to adulthood—involves three distinct stages: separation, when one leaves a specific social state for another; transition, when one is presented with the values of the new state; and incorporation, when one is deemed to have adopted a new social status.

Most references to teacher education as a rite of passage emphasize the credentializing outcomes of teacher evaluations that signal an end to the process of incorporation. The initial stage of this passage in many instances involves separating neophyte teachers from their families, friends, and other students. Other discontinuities include new social networks, unfamiliar duties, and different language codes. During the transitional stage of the rites process, institutional authorities attempt to overcome the initial difficulties and sense of isolation of novice teachers by reorganizing "their behaviour, appearance, speech and ways of thinking" (Eisenhart et al., 1991, p. 54). The transitional period, then, is one in which the novice is instilled, by means of precept and practice, with a set of largely conventional establishment-oriented educational values.

The history of education has played a significant role in training teachers, principally during what rites of passage theorists call the transitional stage. There were three purposes behind the inclusion of the subject in the curricula of the early normal schools. In the first instance, the history of education provides a separate canon of historical knowledge on the theory and practice of teaching that helped justify the existence of distinctive forms of teacher education. Second, teacher educators expected that teachers-in-training would incorporate relevant ideas from the works of great educators in their studies and especially in matters relating to classroom practice. Third, it was thought the knowledge and use of the historical canon would lead to the transformation of teacher candidates into advocates of public schooling and the existing



social order. The extent to which these purposes have been achieved at any particular time has occasioned much debate. The belief among teacher educators that the history of education and related foundational studies, like philosophy and sociology of education, are invaluable teacher training program components persists, even though students have found them to be primarily of theoretical interest (Koos & Woody, 1919; Lacey, 1977; Miklos, Conklin, & Greene, 1987; Pettifor, 1948).

Although the seeds of this development can be traced to the classical period in western European education, particular reference might be made to the *licentia docendi* of the medieval university, which gave recipients the right to teach anywhere in Europe (Rashdall, 1936, pp. 278-284). Based on the trivium and quadrivium of the seven liberal arts, this license for teaching indicated the control of university instruction by academics as a professional group (Kimball, 1986; Le Goff, 1980). The license, however, reflected more than a knowledge of subject matter. It implied a moral suitability based on an evaluation of the scholar's life and reputation (Ferruolo, 1985). Although academic jurisdiction remained a contentious point of debate between secular and ecclesiastical interests, the *licentia docendi* was firmly in place by 1231 (Le Goff, 1980).

In addition to being continually subject to the scrutiny of the university community about what should be taught, advocates of teacher training were faced with the task of determining how good teaching practices might be learned. Attempts to address this, for instance, were manifested in the work of the Society of Jesus founded in 1534. Given to an interest in secondary education, the Jesuits have been credited with introducing the practice of teacher training, which in their view involved a uniform pattern of instruction based on study and observation (Eby, 1952). The Jesuit program, including the study of languages, literature, philosophy, theology, and mathematics as well as teaching methods, stressed self-discipline and religious and moral training (Schwickerath, 1903), with a sound knowledge of "general culture" serving as the basis for specialized training. For the Jesuits the study of history by way of original sources was viewed as critical for "argument, illustration, and parallel" (Farrell, 1938, p. 249). As in all Jesuit pedagogy, emphasis was placed on understanding, and then on developing mastery (Donohue, 1963).

Other examples might be used to illustrate an attempt to instill a professional awareness of teaching in the early history of education, but of special interest are the contributions of the Christian Brothers established in 1684 by Jean Baptiste de la Salle. Focusing on the primary education of working class children, de la Salle established what has been identified as the first normal school (Eby, 1952). Neophyte teachers were prepared in the simultaneous method for instructing large classes of children with emphasis placed on moral and literary studies as a preparation for life (Battersby, 1952).

As Kimball (1992) suggests, the idea of teaching as a profession originated at the time of Cicero. It involved a public declaration (*professio*) of a vocational commitment. By the period of the high Middle Ages, the idea denoted one having made a "profession of religion" by taking "the vows of some religious order" (p. 19). As many clergymen, like the Dominicans and later the Jesuits and Christian Brothers, were also teachers, they became responsible for directing other church members in matters relating to formal education. The value

orientations of this instructional ideology were rooted in theology (the queen of the sciences), which was the special preserve of the clergy. Similar educational orientations applied to Protestant communities, such as those prevailing in Puritan areas of colonial America. The concept of profession was subsequently expanded to include "the fields with which theology had been associated since the thirteenth centuries, law, medicine and, learning" (Kimball, 1992, p. 302). With the advent of state-sponsored national systems of education in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, however, the clergy's influence on teachers became less pronounced. Not enough professed teachers were available to control the burgeoning number of common or public schools. Moreover, as the preparation of teachers for these institutions became the responsibility of the state, the close relationship between the clergy and the task of teaching was no longer possible. As a result, new forms of teacher socialization were needed that would include a set of common values. The expectation in the nonsectarian normal schools established for this purpose was that these values would be consistent with the institutional goals of public schooling and, at the same time, would give teaching the dignity and the independent status attained by other professions.

These early developments in history and teacher education are reflected in attempts to establish permanent institutions for teacher training in mid-19th-century Ontario and the Maritimes. In 1858, for example, Angus Dallas, an advocate of private and denominational education, deemed the work of the Toronto normal school, which had been established in 1847, to be an "expensive fraud" (Phillips, 1957, p. 571; compare with Houston & Prentice, 1988, pp. 167-169). Nor was the idea that secondary school teachers needed special training a popular one. Universities tended to regard "professional training as an insult to their arts and science graduates and as an implied criticism of their own teaching methods" (Stamp, 1982, p. 44). For example, C.F. Lavell of Queen's University claimed that anyone who argued that high school teachers needed training was "a scarcely endurable heretic" (p. 44). These critics invariably argued that appropriate teaching practices could be gained by having prospective teachers emulate the sound pedagogical practices found in schools and universities. In their opinion, candidates for teaching could determine which types of instruction would have the desired effect simply by witnessing existing teaching methods and by recalling examples of good teaching practices from their own schooling.

The debate over how best to achieve curriculum competence and appropriate teaching strategies remains contentious. What was clear in the minds of most teacher educators well into this century, however, was that history of education would provide the principles and standards for resolving a number of fundamental professional questions, such as what knowledge, skills, and attitudes were of most worth and how best they might be imparted. It is not surprising, therefore, that the subject figured prominently in the initial course of studies at the Toronto normal school. From that time onward, it became one of the key professional courses in the normal school curricula, even though, as Alexander Forrester (principal of the Nova Scotia normal school from 1855 to 1869) put it, not enough instructional time was available for this important area (Phillips, 1957, p. 576).



Yet even when educational history was taught, its influence was not always apparent. For instance, L.M. Montgomery (1985), who attended lectures on great educators at the Charlottetown Normal School in 1893, expressed definite ideas about “good” and “bad” teachers in her best-selling *Anne of Green Gables* series (p. 96).<sup>3</sup> For Anne Shirley, the main character in the novels, teachers were seen in terms of polar opposites: “The Good Teacher has no faults; the Bad Teacher no redeeming qualities” (Gates, 1989, p. 116). Such archetypes go back to the childhood of the author and apparently had little to do with her time at normal school. Gates states that “in the rites of passage ... of becoming a teacher,” Anne lost this childhood view of teaching for “a more adult understanding of human beings,” largely as a result of her first teaching experiences (p. 169). Gates’ statement is in keeping with other rite of passage commentators who view evaluations of teaching practice as a critical element in the process (see, e.g., Eisenhart et al.; Gehrke, 1991; Hale & Staratt, 1989; Sylwester, 1987; Tinto, 1988; White, 1989). For many historians of education, this emphasis on evaluation overlooks what “better teachers” might have done in such circumstances. After punishing one of her pupils, Anne reflects as follows on this perennial issue of theory versus practice:

“I never expected to win him by whipping him, though,” said Anne, a little mournfully, feeling that her ideas had played her false somewhere. “It doesn’t seem right, I’m sure my theory of kindness can’t be wrong.” (Montgomery, 1981, p. 102)

Theories of good teaching abounded in the normal schools of the 19th century and involved lofty ideals of what student teachers could accomplish. The development of teacher training in Upper Canada (Ontario) coincided with Egerton Ryerson’s tenure as Superintendent of Schools (1844-1876). On taking office Ryerson was given a year’s leave to examine state-supported educational systems in Western Europe and the Eastern United States. Nothing occurred during his travels to change his political perspective and the implications it had on matters relating to schooling and teacher training, evidenced in his remark (Thomas, 1969) that “my leading idea had been ... to render the Educational System, in its various ramifications and application, the indirect but powerful instrument of British Constitutional Government” (p. 100). The course of study at the Toronto normal school, which included some references to the history of education in the late 1850s,<sup>4</sup> and which by 1882 involved lectures on “great Educational Reformers and their Methods” (Ontario, 1882, p. 76), was a model for professional courses and teacher training programs subsequently developed in the Canadian West.

#### *Educational History and Normal Schooling in Alberta*

D.J. Goggin, whose reputation as an outstanding educator included service as head teacher of a model school in Ontario, was appointed principal of the Protestant normal school in Winnipeg in 1886. He remained in this position until 1893, when he moved to Regina to become the first director of normal schools and teacher institutes in the Northwest Territories. Shortly after assuming this position, he became Superintendent of Education for the Territories, an appointment that strengthened his control of teacher education arrangements. The Regina normal school’s syllabus adhered closely to the

teacher training program that Goggin had developed in Manitoba. In 1896, for example, normal school students in the Territories who wished to obtain a second- or first-class teaching certificate had to complete a course in the history of education (North-West Territories, 1897, pp. 18-19). The prescribed textbooks for the second class requirement in history were Browning's (1881) *An Introduction to the History of Educational Theories* and Quick's (1895) *Essays on Educational Reformers*, whereas those for the first-class were Spencer's (1911) *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects*, *The Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies with the Reports of the Conferences Arranged by the Committee* (1894), and Rosenkranz's (1890) *The Philosophy of Education*.

The inclusion of the text by Herbert Spencer, a noted English philosopher and sociologist, marked the introduction of works of a philosophical nature into the normal school's history of education syllabus. As a result the field of study became a hybrid of historical and philosophical orientations that principally encompassed references to the history of educational ideas. It mattered little, therefore, whether courses in this area were titled the history or the philosophy of education, or whether they were offered separately or in conjunction. Historically oriented textbooks, such as those by Browning and Quick, tended to describe the thought of past educators, whereas texts of a philosophical cast, such as Spencer's, took a prescriptive, albeit general, approach to matters related to teaching. References such as the latter, which at the time were considered to be philosophical in nature, were also much more given to applying a particular theoretical perspective to contemporary educational issues.

Although the prescribed texts for the 1896 history of education classes provided suggestions for educational change, none linked the thought of a particular educator to a system of classroom practice deemed worthy of emulation in most respects. One has to turn to earlier texts in the history of education, such as Forrester's (1867) *The Teacher's Text Book*, to find individuals singled out as having provided an exemplary teaching methodology. Like Goggin some 30 years later, Forrester was a superintendent of education and a normal school principal, but differed from Goggin by advocating a system of teaching developed by someone who had extensive classroom experience, and whose success as a practitioner meant much more than theories about what constitutes good teaching. In designing a program for the first normal school in Nova Scotia, Forrester examined five approaches to teaching: rote, mechanical, explanatory, objective, and training. After briefly outlining the principles and applications of each approach and placing it in historical context, Forrester (1867, p. 308) concluded that "The Training System" developed by David Stow, an early 19th-century Scottish educator, to be the one to follow. Although predicated on the scriptural rule of rearing a child in the way he should go, Stow's system had none of the harshness usually associated with this dictum. It was, in fact, one in which neither rote learning nor physical punishment had a place. And although the system's intricacies and merits cannot be discussed here, it should be noted that Forrester's choice of a model educator and his efforts to show the classroom implications emanating from his choice differed substantially from the objectives and content of the history of education offerings at the Regina normal school and its successors.



Until the 1930s teacher candidates at these institutions were provided with a summary of the writings of eminent educators from antiquity to current times. This was achieved in part by including prescribed texts of a philosophical nature in history of education courses. As noted earlier, Rosenkranz's *The Philosophy of Education* became one of the required readings in 1896 for the first-class course in the discipline at the Regina normal school (North-West Territories, 1897, p. 20). Like Spencer's text, it was a work that set out a theoretical perspective for students. The expectation was that in becoming familiar with what were deemed to be appropriate educational ideas from the past, prospective teachers would form them into a conceptual matrix for emulation and practice. Access to the work of contemporary philosophers such as Spencer and Rosenkranz was seen as a way of facilitating this exercise. Such were the underlying assumptions that Goggin set for the history of education in the 1890s. Following his approach and the philosophical ideas of Rosenkranz and Spencer, the questions of the 1898 Regina normal school examination on the history of education were wide-ranging and eclectic in nature, emphasizing theory and educational ideals in classical, medieval, and modern-day contexts (North-West Territories, 1898). By way of comparison, the 1903 examination called for a more interpretive understanding of the educational past, and went beyond the descriptive-type expectations of earlier examinations (North-West Territories, 1903).

According to the 1903 course of studies at the Regina normal school, history of education also encompassed topics in psychology and the philosophy of education. The schedule and content of the examinations for that year reveal, however, that the history of education was losing its omnibus character and preeminent status as the key science of education subject. In addition to the history of education test cited above, there were separate examinations in psychology and philosophy. Those in the latter area were two and a half hours in length compared with the hour and a half given to history. A review of the examination questions in the three subjects also suggests that the school's determination to relate educational theory to classroom practice was achieved more successfully in the newly separated disciplines of psychology and philosophy (North-West Territories, 1903).

A change in history of education textbooks occurred following the establishment of the Province of Alberta's first normal school in Calgary in 1906. Quick's and Browning's texts, which given their British perspective were linked to the cultural and political predispositions of educators like Ryerson and Goggin, were replaced by an American text, Painter's (1901) *A History of Education*, which extolled the idea of public schooling. This change diminished the possibility of relating schooling to existing Anglo-conformist views of what the ethos of the province's schools should be, thereby making the discipline more remote from the day-to-day activities of teachers than had previously been the case.

Painter's book manifested many of the characteristics that Bailyn (1960) ascribes to other American history of education texts of the period, including Davidson's (1900) *A History of Education*, which was listed as a reference at the Calgary normal school in 1907 (Alberta Department of Education, 1908, p. 104). According to Bailyn (1960), Davidson's book was designed to give "the

neophyte [teacher] an everlasting faith in his profession" (p. 8). As with other historians of education in the United States at the time, Davidson (1900) set out to provide an overview of education, encompassing the rise of human intelligence through various epochs and its evolution to its highest place in the profession of education. The history of education thus conceived was an initiation to "the noblest of professions" (Bailyn, 1960, p. 7). The theme of the discipline's role as a rite of passage abounded in other works of the period, such as Monroe's *A Text-book in the History of Education* (1905 reprinted in 1930). Bailyn chose the following passage from Monroe's work to describe what "a whole generation of passionate crusaders for professionalism in education" had in mind for the student of the history of education:

a conception of the meaning, process and purpose of education that will lift him above the narrow prejudices, the restricted outlook, the foibles and the petty trials of the average school room, and afford him the fundamentals of an everlasting faith as broad as human nature and as deep as the life of the race. (p. x)

The initiatory role assigned to the history of education was not new. Transition into teaching had been a function of the history of education in state-supported normal schools in North America almost from their inception in the mid-1800s. And as the following excerpt from the Ontario Ministry of Education *Report* (1891) illustrates, the subject gained increasing significance over the decades:

The knowledge of what has been done by the great educators of the past, their educational ideals, their modes of procedure, their strengths and sacrifices and triumphs, animate the teacher with loftier ideals and with the spirit of effort; the critical study of the underlying principles of various national systems, their truths and their errors, helps at once to enlarge and make clearer our ideas of the science of education. (pp. 426-427)

The report also affirmed that the history of education, along with other principles of education, including those derived from psychology, would result in a "change of spirit and purpose" in future teachers, not unlike that experienced by someone who had undergone a "conversion" (p. 427).

What differed about the orientation of educational history in the early 20th century was that those responsible for the field of study either lessened or abandoned attempts to relate its theoretical orientations to classroom practice. As far as the normal schools in Alberta were concerned, there is evidence that as the theoretical orientations of the subject gained ascendancy, linkages between educational theory and specific coping and instructional strategies were left to other disciplines such as psychology. These orientations were strengthened further, as was the case in 1908 at the Calgary Normal School, when the history of education and the philosophy of education were amalgamated into a common course for first-class students only (Alberta Department of Education, 1908). Involving a series of reflections on selected educational ideas, the common course continued at Calgary and was adopted by the Camrose Normal School when it opened in 1913. Apparently there was uneasiness about the absence of a theoretical course in either or both of the disciplines for second-class candidates, but this was rectified in 1909 when a course in the history of education was prescribed to ensure that students at this



level were properly initiated into the profession (Alberta Department of Education, 1909).

Although there is nothing to indicate how these courses were viewed by the students, it would have been unlikely for them to publicize any misgivings they might have had about the subject, especially when the principals were usually responsible for teaching courses in this area. Normal schools were under the direct control and supervision of the provincial government's department of education and as such did not have the independence in curriculum and other matters enjoyed by the University of Alberta. What should be noted, however, is that educational authorities in Canada and the United States, including department officials and principals of the normal schools at Calgary and Camrose, were generally of one mind about educational history being part of the professional training of teachers. The National Educational Association in the United States recommended this in 1907 (Cremin, 1955), and as has been shown above, teacher educators in Alberta took special pains to see that the subject remained part of the core curriculum. A study in the State of Washington in 1917 found that 315 of the 451 teachers surveyed had taken educational history as part of their professional training. Only 38 of the 315, however, said it was "their 'most helpful' course, ranking it one step above [the] elementary school curriculum, the subject stated by the teachers to be the least value" (Koos & Woody, 1919, pp. 246-257). It is not known if the Alberta normal school principals were aware of the Washington survey, but one might conclude that they would have believed that their educational history courses would not be similarly assessed.

In 1919 the normal school course was extended from four to eight months. To meet the expected shortage of teachers that would result from the longer program, an emergency short-term course of 12 weeks leading to a third-class certificate was established in Edmonton. No instruction in the history of education was given in the short program, an exclusion that would have concerned those who believed in the subject's value as a rite of passage toward teaching. The short course was offered for one term only. From then on, the Edmonton Normal School followed the same basic course of studies as the two other normal schools. Educational history remained a requirement for second- and first-class candidates, but the first-class course no longer involved studies in the philosophy of education. As a result, texts like Horne's *Philosophy of Education* (1905) and Tompkins' *Philosophy of Teaching* (1894) were dropped from the prescribed and recommended lists of readings, for plainer fare in the form of such works as Monroe's *Text-book in the History of Education* (1905) which provided the content for the two courses in the history of education (Alberta Department of Education, 1909, p. 102). According to the Department of Education *Normal School Announcement* of 1918-1919 (Mann, 1961), this involved a "brief survey from ancient to modern times" as the first-class level and "lectures on the most important movements and problems" at the second (pp. 72-73).

That educational history was usually taught by the principals of the normal schools, who also played a major role in issuing teaching certificates, would not only have enhanced its stature, but would likely have led, in keeping with most ceremonies of transition, to a suspension of judgment on the part of the

students about the future value of the experience. Once the course began to be taught by regular members of staff in the 1920s, such as C. Sansom and A.G. Torrie at Calgary, it became like any other offering of the program and tended to be judged on its own merits. Sansom and Torrie went on to become principals of the normal schools at Edmonton and Camrose respectively. On taking these positions, however, they gave up their involvement with the history of education to devote themselves to subject areas such as mathematics and psychology, which were apparently of greater interest to them.

The reports of the provincial normal schools from the 1920s to the mid-1930s (Alberta Department of Education, 1921-1935, *Annual Reports*) made little mention of the history of education. According to Mann (1961), it continued to be taught to 1937 for up to three periods a week, about 10% of the instructional time, but was available to first-class students only. In this regard it is worth noting that Black (1936), who studied teacher education in Western Canada in the 1930s, found it "difficult to understand why the Alberta authorities have made this distinction; the second-class students are probably just as much in need of a historical background as are the first-class students" (p. 112). By this time Monroe's text had been replaced by Graves' *A Student's History of Education* (1925).<sup>5</sup> This book was only slightly more suitable given the course's new title, *History of Modern Education*, and its description in the 1936 summer session calendar:

Educational philosophers of the present day and their work. Changes in the conceptions of the process of learning and the influence of these in both subject matter and teaching practice. The "New Education." Promising experiments. Present day trends in education. (Alberta Department of Education, 1936, p. 29)

The course's restructuring probably occurred largely as a result of a department-sponsored report in 1935 by two normal school instructors, Donalda Dickie and Olive Fisher, and an inspector of schools, Hay, who recommended that an "enterprise program" be introduced in grades 1 to 6. Enterprise units were built "on the principle that education is a social experience in the course of which pupils plan, initiate, and carry out cooperative projects" (Alberta Department of Education, 1935, p. 18). At a conference of normal school instructors in 1935, chaired by H.C. Newland, provincial supervisor of schools, agreement was reached on a number of matters relating to the implementation of the enterprise. Of significance here was a recommendation that called upon the normal schools to give "more attention ... to the philosophy of education" so that teachers would better understand "the meaning and purpose of the changes in the curriculum" (Alberta Department of Education, 1935, pp. 20-21).

Newland, who had been one of Goggin's students at the Regina normal school, expanded further on what was needed in a report on "The Training and Certification of Teachers for Alberta Schools" that he sent to William Aberhart, premier of the province and minister of education, in June 1936. Newland proposed a new normal school curriculum consisting of 20 periods a week, two of which would be assigned to a course on *The Principles of Education*. The new course would provide a "very brief outline" of educational history, but most of its attention would be devoted to such contemporary topics as these:



The role of education in a changing society; education and democracy; the liberal, cultural, technical and vocational objectives of education; curriculum-making; the child-centred and subject-centred school; the functions of the elementary school, the intermediate school, and the high school; educational problems in Alberta. (Newland, 1936, p. 34)

There is no record of Premier's Aberhart's reaction to what was proposed. Suffice it to say that energetic steps were taken to introduce the enterprise program and allied courses in summer school classes and during regular normal school sessions. According to departmental officials like Newland, new approaches were needed, such as that taken by G.K. Haverstock, principal of the Camrose Normal School in 1936, when he did away with educational history entirely and replaced it with a course in Elementary School Organization and Management (Newland to G.S. Lord, 7 December 1936, *Teachers College*).<sup>6</sup> Similar initiatives led to the history of education being removed from the curriculum of normal schools a year later in favor of a course on The Principles and Science of Education (Mann, 1961, p. 25). This offering, which was designed to deal with the new activity or enterprise program, was further reinforced by similarly oriented courses during World War II, such as Community Economics and Sociology and Community Problems (p. 251).

The enterprise program had its general origins in the work of John Dewey, William Kilpatrick, George Counts, and others who formed a loose coalition that was known as the new or progressive education movement. Its principal ideologue in Alberta was H.C. Newland who adopted many "progressive" ideas and whose writing and speeches about their educational implications were invariably enthusiastic. As he put it in 1924, once teachers became aware "of the possibilities of education as the harbinger of a new and better social order," they would become "apostles of progress and not reaction" (Patterson, 1974, p. 293). At a summer school for teachers in the 1930s, Newland made the following remark on progressive education: "We are on our way. We don't quite know where we are going. But, a good thing is we can't go back" (H.T. Coutts, personal communication, 18 September 1992). There can be no doubt that Newland's proposals would not have gained the influence they did in the 1930s without the commitment and cooperation of Donald Dickie, W.E. Hay and D. McDougall who showed remarkable ingenuity in translating progressive ideas into classroom practices. The theory and practice of the enterprise had a much greater effect on the thinking and actions of teachers in the province than any of the transitional efforts that had been associated with educational history. As far as this latter subject was concerned, it lost its place in the core curriculum and all but disappeared in other aspects of the normal school program.

Although educational history was excluded from the core curriculum, education officials were not disposed to do away with the discipline entirely. They saw it playing a new role as part of classroom-oriented courses where it took a critical, even iconoclastic stance concerning the nature and outcomes of public schooling in particular and socioeconomic conditions in general. Attempts to do this are apparent in such courses as the Social Foundations of Education which was first offered during the 1936 summer session and which was described as follows in the sessional calendar:

This course has been designed to show the social purpose of education, and to help teachers understand the social philosophy on which our educational system is based. It will deal ... with the effect on education of the change from an agrarian to an industrial economy. It will also examine the role of education in a changing society, and the bearing of education on the future of democracy. (Alberta Department of Education, 1936, p. 30)

The instructor for the above course used Counts' (1932) *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* as a principal text in the University of Alberta's summer session in 1936. The book's contemporary nature and radical politics was a major departure from previous history of education perspectives.<sup>7</sup> William Swift, a school inspector who became Deputy Minister of Education in 1946, was asked to give two other hastily designed courses in the 1936 summer session: Rural Sociology and Rural Education and its Problems. He recalls being ill prepared to teach either course, and describes the Department of Education's expectation that his courses should be related to the enterprise program to be introduced in the schools that fall as "muddled" thinking (W.H. Swift, personal interview, October 29, 1992).<sup>8</sup> Like many of his colleagues, Swift was nonetheless committed to introducing the enterprise, and by association at least, to many of the socioeconomic outcomes that progressive theorists believed would result from it and other educational innovations. What the above courses and related information reveal, however, is that the new history of education was no longer seen to be in league with the existing sociopolitical order. Although the discipline ostensibly retained its transitional role in preparing teachers, its function as a rite of passage to teaching changed from one of accepting and reinforcing what prevailed in schools to one that was given to criticizing and redirecting what went on in these institutions.

Those in the normal schools and elsewhere who still saw the history of education as having significant value in the training of teachers undoubtedly hoped that the University of Alberta, which assumed responsibility for all teacher education in the Province in 1945, would not follow the same route as the normal schools and abandon a subject that had been so carefully nurtured in teacher preparation programs for most of the previous century.

#### *Educational History at the University of Alberta*

The value of educational history as a rite of passage at the University of Alberta can be traced to a series of events in the first half of this century. As early as 1911, H.M. Tory, President of the University, called for "a philosophical course for Education in keeping with the Historical training for Law and the Science training for Medicine" (University of Alberta Senate, 1911). Implicit in this view is the belief that familiarity with the thought of great educators was an essential element in the transitional and incorporating process of teacher training. Tory was among the first to call for educational studies in the fledgling Bachelor of Arts Program for those interested in teaching in the secondary schools. A combined study of educational history and philosophy was introduced in the Philosophy Department in 1912.

The History of Education, a senior level course, was given three hours per week throughout the 1912-1913 academic year. In a two-to-one ratio of history to philosophy, the course included historical studies of ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary education with philosophical studies addressing



“educational ideals and social aspects of education” (University of Alberta, 1912-1913, pp. 71-72). The first examination in the subject centered on questions of history and educational thought, including a comparison of Greek and Roman ideals of education, key ideas in the works of William James, and an account of the origins and development of the universities in Europe (University of Alberta, 1913-1914, p. 71). The course was taught by the Rev. Dr. S. Dyde, an experienced teacher educator, who later became principal of the Presbyterian Theological College at Queen’s University in Kingston. In addition to lectures, the recommended text in the course was Monroe’s *Text Book on the Theory of Education* (University of Alberta, 1914-1915, p. 117). By 1915, History of Education was retitled Education 51, History and Philosophy of Education (University of Alberta, 1915-1916, p. 143).

These early developments in educational history are given a sharper focus with the founding of the School of Education within the Faculty of Arts in 1928-1929. Under the aegis of the Joint Committee of the Provincial Department of Education and the University, whose membership included among others W.A. Kerr, J.M. MacEachran, G.F. McNally, and M.E. LaZerte, it was recommended that along with studies in psychology, science methods, and administration, Education 54, History and Philosophy of Education should be included in the “professional subjects of the teacher-training course” (Joint Committee, 1929). The studies, which were designed to provide “a systematic and cohesive preparation in scope and subject matter for the work of teaching in the schools of the province” (University of Alberta, 1929-1930, pp. 91-92) indicated functional objectives of, first, transmitting to the rising generation the world’s accumulating store of knowledge and, second, of assuring in close cooperation on par with those already provided in the “sister professions” of agriculture, engineering, law, and medicine (p. 92).

By 1935 the School of Education had already established two courses identified with the history of education. The first, Education 54 taught by H.E. Smith and M.E. LaZerte, focused on a study of classics and philosophy of education, Education 101, History of Educational Administration, centering on an historical study of educational administration in various countries (University of Alberta, 1935-36, pp. 153-154), a subject that disappeared from the curriculum four years later. Soon to follow in 1936 was Education 104, History of Education taught by H.E. Smith. This course addressed “the most important events in the history of European education and their effect on present-day practice in Europe, the United States and Canada” and included topics from the early Greeks to pioneers of modern education, as well as the emergence of national school systems (University of Alberta, 1936-1937, p. 158).

In 1939 the School of Education realigned its degrees by assigning the direction of the MA in Education and the BEduc, both of which were advanced degrees, to the School of Graduate Studies (Myrehaug, 1972). These changes, along with influence from the teaching profession, led to the formation within the Faculty of Arts of the College of Education in 1940, organized “for the training of high school teachers and for research in the field of education” (University of Alberta, 1940-1941, p. 235). Included in the BEduc curriculum was Education 54. Later, when the MEd degree was instituted, among the

requirements were Education 54 and other courses, such as Education 104, History of Education.

Of special interest are the topics of research in educational history, four of which are given particular attention. In 1915 A.E. Ottewell, under the supervision of Dr. MacEachran, presented a thesis on *The University Extension Movement*, an historical survey of university extension in Britain, the Antipodes, the United States, and Canada. Ottewell's study included extensive reference to historical and current events bearing upon extension activities. Following Ottewell's investigation little was done by way of thesis research into educational history until 1938 when K.H. Thomson examined the development of Russian education during the time of Leo Tolstoy. *The Educational Philosophy of Tolstoy* centered on an historical analysis of Tolstoy's life with attention to his views of education. In the following year Thomson (1939) completed a BEduc thesis—at that time a graduate degree—on *The Educational Philosophy of Robert Owen*. As in his earlier study, Thomson focused his research on the individual's contribution to education with attention to educational thought.

These initial studies were followed in 1940 by Hewson's *The History of Commercial Education in Canada*, a wide-ranging thesis on commercial education by provinces. Reference is made to population growth, economic change, and programs of study throughout the Dominion based in part on primary source materials including government annual reports. It is difficult, of course, to determine the impact of four dissertations on research in the history of education, yet two observations may be appropriate: first, although the studies were prepared in the Faculty of Arts, they had a specific focus on events and individuals in education; and, second, the topics addressed what is frequently identified as the history of educational ideas and, especially in Thomson's work, the history of educational thought. Whether or not these perspectives followed what already had been established in European educational history (compare Hodysh, 1980), they provide a view of educational history that included an interest not only in the study of schooling and education in the wider sense, but the philosophical and educational thought of leading historical figures.

The early development in educational history at the University reflects underlying commitments to both the professional training of teachers beyond the normal school and the transmission of knowledge about the western educational tradition, defined in part through European and American experiences. These commitments indicated a series of value judgments about "the standards or principles of worth" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 370, and compare with Gauss, 1990, p. 219; Kuhn, 1977, pp. 335-336) in the history of education as a field of study, a rite of passage to the period of 1942 when the College of Education became the Faculty of Education with M.E. LaZerte as its first dean. Texts for the discipline reflected the ideas of great educators and progressive forms of public schooling with a view to incorporating these standards into the thinking of prospective teachers. The transitional role of such instruction was less evident than it had been in the normal schools and foreshadowed subsequent changes in the history of education at the University.

Until 1945, when the University of Alberta became responsible for all levels of teacher education in the Province, those wanting to become elementary and



intermediate teachers attended normal school. Those aspiring to teach high school enrolled in a concurrent undergraduate program (education and arts and science) or took postdegree studies in the University's School of Education (1929) and, later, the College of Education (1940). As both entities were part of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, pressure continued from such lobbies as the Alberta Teachers' Alliance, later the Alberta Teachers' Association, which from the mid-1920s held that the field of education deserved the status of a Faculty (see, e.g., Alberta Teachers' Alliance, 1924, p. 17). This happened in 1942 when the University's board of governors agreed with the Department of Education to establish a Faculty of Education. Although this decision did not result in the Faculty being granted sole responsibility for teacher education in the province, it facilitated the setting up of a two-year junior diploma program that entitled its graduates to a grade 7 to 9 teaching certificate (University of Alberta, 1942-1943).

As the diploma program involved accreditation, which formerly had been primarily a normal school responsibility, its course requirements would have interested educational historians and particularly their colleagues in educational philosophy. In this regard they undoubtedly would have been pleased with the attention given their disciplines in the University's Bachelor of Education (BEd) program, especially when compared with measures taken by the Department of Education in the late 1930s to exclude these subjects from the curriculum of the normal schools (Alberta Teachers' Alliance, 1924, pp. 16-17). Diploma students were required to take Philosophy 2 (Introduction to General Psychology and to Logic) or Philosophy 3 (Introduction to Social Psychology and Social Philosophy) from the Faculty of Arts in their first year. Another course in philosophy was required, either Philosophy 51 (History of Philosophy) or Philosophy 54 (Ethics and Social Morality), for students who went on to complete the BEd degree or a joint degree in arts, commerce, or science. With these prerequisites in hand they were permitted to enroll in Education 54 (The Philosophy of Education) a requirement of the final year of the BEd (University of Alberta, 1942-1943).

The 1942 calendar description for Education 54 would have been satisfactory to historians of education who were primarily concerned with studying the ideas of prominent educators and the development of public schooling: "Studies in the Philosophy of Education will be closely associated (1) with a study of the educational classics, and (2) with a survey of modern educational practices in various countries; European, American and Australian" (University of Alberta, 1942-1943, p. 245). That Education 54 kept the same course description given it 30 years before would also have been encouraging to those who believed in the subject's worth. The same parties would likely have been pleased by its place in the final year of the BEd and joint degree programs and by the fact that its status was such that it could not be taken without considerable prior, discipline-related study in the Department of Philosophy.

Syllabuses of the philosophy prerequisites for Education 54 give an idea of the preparation students had in the discipline before taking the latter course. The required text for the History of Philosophy, Philosophy 51, in 1948 was Bernard Russell's *A History of Western Philosophy* (1945),<sup>9</sup> and the class assignment was a 2,500-word essay on "The Contribution of the Ancient Greek

Philosophers to Modern Thought" (Mardiros, 1948). The text in 1951 for Philosophy 54, Ethics and Social Morality, was A.I. Melden's *Ethical Theories: A Book of Readings* (1950) and the assignment was a 2,000-word paper on "J.S. Mill's Utilitarianism" (Mardiros, 1951). As noted above, Education 54 had its roots in the first educational course given at the University of Alberta in the 1912-13 academic year, which was described as an offering in the History of Education. It was renumbered 492 in the 1945-1946 calendar, but it retained its title, the Philosophy of Education, and its earlier description (University of Alberta, 1945-1946, p. 224).

Educational history and philosophy gave increasing attention to progressive education, an orientation that many teacher educators believed greatly enhanced the transitional role traditionally assigned to subjects in these areas. Yet this did not mean the new orientation was always well received. Many of the teachers who responded to a Canada-wide survey in 1948 found much of their professional training to be remote and impractical, or as some put it, "too theoretical [and] time wasted" (Pettifor, 1948, pp. 68-69). And although few specific examples were given in the survey's findings to indicate where this was so in teacher education programs, at least half the respondents quoted singled out the history of education as the chief culprit (Pettifor, 1948, p. 68). The results of this survey were apparently not given much credence at the University of Alberta by such Education 492 instructors as H.E. Smith, who had joined the School of Education in 1929 and was Dean of the Faculty from 1950 to 1955. His 492 course outline in 1951 (Smith, 1951) reflects his adherence (which he wrote about shortly after) to "the philosophic concepts stemming from James, Dewey and Kilpatrick." In Smith's view, the emphasis given by these educators to "the role of intelligence, of experiment, of active learning, of pupil initiative, and the critical use of judgement ... had fairly dominated the [teacher] training schools." Smith's observations are reminiscent of H.C. Newland's enthusiasm for the principles of progressive education. Like Newland, however, Smith was concerned that the principles' "interpretation and application have at times been extravagant and irrational." Yet he had no doubt that the ideas of the progressives "were essentially sound and in keeping with the temper of the times" (Smith, 1956, p. 172).

The content and orientation of the history and philosophy of education offerings from the mid-1930s to the late 1950s tended to be one and the same, even though most were categorized as courses in educational philosophy. Education 594 (formerly Education 104), a graduate seminar in the History of Education at the University of Alberta, was an exception insofar as its title was concerned, but its 1952-1953 calendar description indicates that it was not much different from Education 492, the undergraduate course in educational philosophy:

History of Education from the Greeks to Modern Times, placing emphasis on great figures and major trends; Comparative—the History of modern education in Canada, Britain, America, France, Germany, Denmark and Russia; and Great Issues in Education—the influence of political, economic, social and religious institutions on education. Theories of the role of education in the modern state. Philosophy of Education. Psychology and Education. (University of Alberta, 1952-1953, p. 282)



That Education 594 cast a wide net is evident from the above prospectus and from a 1948 course syllabus that prescribed no fewer than eight books in modern education and educational history. Although the titles of these required readings ranged from E.W. Knight's *Twenty Centuries of Education* (1940) to A.E. Meyer's *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* (1945), the syllabus made it clear that references to educational "thought and practice" in the past would be chosen on the basis of their "contemporary significance" and "of their development or culmination in modern systems of education" (Baker, 1948, p. 1).

Knight's (1940) work was dedicated to Monroe, whose *Text-book in the History of Education* (1905) was the basic reference for Education 54 when it was introduced at the University of Alberta in 1912-1913. *Twenty Centuries* bears a strong resemblance to Monroe's study both in terms of content and ideological orientation. The latter phenomenon is readily apparent in Knight's discussion of the "Value of Educational History" (p. 7), where in keeping with Monroe's views, the subject is assigned its traditional role of providing an "exalted ideal of the teacher's work" during the transitional stage of the rites of passage to teaching. According to Knight, an historical study of the "occupation" of teaching should result in teachers' developing "a desire for higher personal effectiveness" and in heightening their "sense of the dignity and importance of teaching" (p. ix).

Meyer's book (1945, p. ix) on the other hand, inspired in part by the writings of William James and John Dewey, provided prospective teachers with a "bird's-eye glimpse of the recent educational past." Emphasis was placed on progressive education, national systems of education in Europe, and educational change in the United States. Based largely on descriptive analysis, the work does not prescribe one or another approach as the only way of educating the teacher, but offers rather a straightforward discussion of what the neophyte teacher in a wider cultural framework should be expected to know. In this context, state and municipal authorities as the institutional guardians of the rites of passage appear, in Meyer's assessment, "to be favouring more cultural work and less professional work in the training of prospective teachers" (p. 388). The study, then, does not abandon history of education as a rite of passage. As the transition of teacher preparation from the normal schools to the university was taking place, the history of education retained its function as a rite of passage, but with a more contemporary orientation.

#### *Conclusion and Implications*

Although there were indications that educational history as a field of study was changing its emphasis by 1950, it continued to provide standards or principles of worth in the transitional stage of the rites of passage to teaching. The subject's place in the Faculty's core curriculum was secure, a security that was based in part on requiring students to have a background in philosophy before taking the compulsory course in the history of education. As was the case in the normal schools in the 1930s, a tension existed between the principal objectives of the course. On the one hand, there remained, as H.M. Tory had argued, a commitment to the liberal education of teachers (Buck, 1993). On the other hand, there was concern about the need to examine the leading values and debates of contemporary education. Along with these objectives, history

of education was expanding to include the study of social questions, particularly relating to the poor, women, and minority groups. The rite of passage to teaching was undergoing change. It was beginning to reflect new directions in educational history that in the coming decades were to reaffirm the discipline's traditional role in the education of teachers.

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#### Notes

1. The terms *educational history* and *history of education* are considered to be identical.
2. The terms *teacher education* and *teacher training* are used interchangeably in this article.
3. The first reference to the inclusion of educational history in the School Management course occurs in the *Report of the Principal of the Prince of Wales College and the Provincial Normal School* 1908, Appendix E, p. 3. Earlier reports, especially those on School Management examinations, indicates that this practice had been in effect for some time. See, for example, Prince Edward Island, 1888, pp. 105-106, 110; 1891, p. 92.
4. In 1858 the Council of Public Instruction for Canada West approved a program of study for the Toronto Normal School that included the subject of "education." Although the course emphasized matters relating to "School Organization [and] Management," first-class teacher training candidates were also expected to gain "a knowledge of the leading principles of Mental and Moral Philosophy" (*The Normal School of Ontario*, 1871, pp. 11, 13-14, 24-25). lectures on philosophy were linked to practice teaching sessions in the model school (Ontario, *Annual Report Normal Model High and Public Schools*, 1877, p. 98).
5. Graves' book was the required history of education text at all three normal schools in 1931 (Alberta Department of Education, 1931b, p. 11).
6. Newland praised G.K. Haverstock's (principal of the Camrose normal school) course and his use of a text of the same name, *Elementary School Organization and Management* by Dougherty, Gorman, and Phillips (1936) as presenting "a point of view [that fully supports] our new setup."
7. B.Y. Card, who set up a first year history of education course at the University of Alberta in the late 1950s, provided information on the adoption of Counts' text (B.Y. Card, personal interview, 22 June 1992).
8. For a discussion of the relationship between the summer school offerings and the new school program, see "Courses of Special Interest to Teachers at the Present Time" in Alberta Department of Education (1936, pp. 15-17).
9. The volume consisted of three books: *Ancient Philosophers*, *Catholic Philosophy*, and *Modern Philosophy*.

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Eileen Wood

Wilfrid Laurier University

Teena Willoughby

Violet Kaspar

University of Waterloo

and

Tracey Idle

Wilfrid Laurier University

## Enhancing Adolescents' Recall of Factual Content: The Impact of Provided Versus Self-Generated Elaborations

*The purpose of this study was to examine the potency of elaborative interrogation relative to supported learning contexts for adolescent learners. One hundred and twenty students were instructed to use one of four learning strategies to learn animal facts: a questioning strategy that employs why questions (elaborative interrogation); a judgment condition where students assessed the quality of provided elaborations; and two repetition conditions where students either repeated experimenter-provided elaborations or non-elaborated facts. As in existing research with young children and university students, these 10th- to 12th-graders demonstrated greater learning when instructed to use elaborative interrogation relative to repetition of elaborated or non-elaborated facts. Although elaborative interrogation did not significantly differ from the judgment condition, students indicated that they accessed prior knowledge more often when employing the elaborative interrogation strategy, suggesting that elaborative interrogation facilitates learning by encouraging access to prior knowledge.*

*Le but de cette étude était d'examiner l'efficacité de l'interrogation élaborative comparée à des contextes d'apprentissage à l'appui pour les adolescent(e)s apprenant(e)s. On a donné des instructions à cent vingt élèves du niveau secondaire à utiliser une de quatre stratégies d'apprentissage afin d'apprendre des faits sur les animaux: une stratégie de questionnement qui utilise surtout des questions de "pourquoi" (interrogation élaborative); une situation de jugement qui obligeait les élèves à évaluer la qualité des faits et des élaborations présentés; et deux conditions de répétition qui contraignaient les élèves à soit répéter les faits présentés par les expérimentateurs ou bien à répéter des faits non élaborés. Ces apprenant(e)s de la 10<sup>e</sup> à la 12<sup>e</sup> année ont démontré qu'ils apprenaient plus lorsqu'ils utilisaient la méthode de l'interrogation élaborative plutôt que celle de la répétition de faits élaborés et des faits non élaborés. Ceci se compare bien aux recherches qui existent faites sur les jeunes apprenant(e)s et les étudiant(e)s de l'université. Même s'il y a peu de différences entre l'interrogation élaborative*

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Eileen Wood is an assistant professor.

Teena Willoughby holds a postdoctoral position.

Violet Kaspar is enrolled in the doctoral program.

Tracey Idle has just completed her master's degree.

All authors have designated interests in developmental psychology with specific interest in cognitive development and the development of memory strategies.



*et la situation de jugement, les élèves ont indiqué qu'ils(elles) se servaient des connaissances apprises antérieurement plus souvent lorsqu'ils(elles) utilisaient les stratégies de l'interrogation élaborative. Ceci suggère que l'interrogation élaborative facilite l'apprentissage puisqu'elle encourage l'élève à avoir recours aux connaissances apprises antérieurement.*

Recent research has advocated using an associative learning strategy called elaborative interrogation to facilitate learning from prose (Pressley, Symons, McDaniel, Snyder, & Turnure, 1988; Woloshyn, Willoughby, Wood, & Pressley, 1990; Wood, Pressley, Turnure, & Walton, 1987). Elaborative interrogation encourages learners to integrate to-be-learned information with existing knowledge by requiring learners to respond to *why* questions (i.e., Why would this fact be true?). Existing research has examined elaborative interrogation with very young learners (e.g., Wood, Miller, Symons, Canough, & Yedlicka, in press), fourth through eighth graders (Wood, Pressley, & Winne, 1990), and university students (e.g., Pressley, McDaniel, Turnure, Wood, & Ahmad, 1987). Performance differences across these studies suggest that the ability to effectively use elaborative interrogation increases with advancing age (Wood et al., 1990). The present study completes the existing developmental picture for this strategy by including an adolescent population. The potency of elaborative interrogation is also compared with supported learning contexts where elaborations are provided.

In a series studies, Bransford et al. (1982; Franks et al., 1982; Stein & Bransford, 1979; Stein et al., 1982) demonstrated greater learning of factual information for 5th graders and adults when they studied sentences that were accompanied with elaborations versus non-elaborated sentences. In addition, elaborations that clarified the conceptual relations within the facts produced greater learning than less explanatory elaborations. For example, memory for the sentence "The tall man bought the crackers" was higher when the sentence was followed by the elaboration "that were on the top shelf" than the elaboration "that were on sale." Bransford et al. argued that the former elaboration was more powerful because it specifically explained the relation between the type of man and the activity. The explanation reduced the arbitrariness of the relations and hence made the material more meaningful and more memorable for the learner.

Pressley et al. (1987), however, found that adults experienced these performance gains only when they were unaware of an upcoming memory test while studying (incidental learning contexts). When adult learners were told to expect a memory test (Intentional learning), as were all the children in the Bransford et al. studies (1982), there was no advantage for providing elaborations relative to simple repetition of the non-elaborated sentences (Pressley et al., 1987). The lack of differences between these two conditions most probably reflects the tendency for adult learners in the non-elaborated repetition condition to spontaneously elaborate some of the sentences when studying intentionally. Alternatively, some of the provided elaborations may have conflicted with the learners' existing knowledge, resulting in interference and deflated performance.

In contrast, Pressley et al. (1987) found robust memory gains for adults who were instructed to generate their own elaborations. These students were asked to answer *why* questions. Adults taught to use the elaborative interrogation

strategy exceeded the performance of adults who rehearsed either elaborated or non-elaborated sentences. Elaborative interrogation was thought to prompt learners to make the new information more meaningful by relating the new information to the learners' existing prior knowledge (Willoughby, Waller, Wood, & MacKinnon, 1993).

Wood et al. (1990) extended this research to child populations. Using the same *man* sentences as Bransford et al. (1982), they found that 4th- to 8th-graders using elaborative interrogation also outperformed those who repeated elaborated and non-elaborated sentences. Consistent with the early Bransford et al. (1982) studies, the older grade school children in this study also seemed to benefit from the support offered by provided elaborations relative to non-elaborated sentences. These younger learners presumably have less developed knowledge bases and are less likely to spontaneously elaborate information than their adult peers. However, they can be compensated to some extent by providing elaborations that clarify and reduce the arbitrariness of new information (Wood et al., 1990). The present study addresses the relative benefits of providing versus self-generating elaborations with adolescents to determine whether provided elaborations support learning of factual information for this population.

In the existing literature (e.g., Wood et al., 1990), provided elaborations are accompanied by instructions to rehearse the information. It is assumed that the presentation of the elaboration will be sufficient to enhance learning. Repetition is a familiar and comfortable strategy for learners of all ages and often serves as the default strategy (Garner, 1990). Although this supported repetition condition (i.e., provided elaboration condition) has both practical and theoretical relevance in its present form, the rehearsal instructions fail to maximize the learning potential of provided elaborations. For example, less cognitive effort (Jacoby, 1978; Tyler, Hertel, McCallum, & Ellis, 1979) is exerted when repeating elaborations than when generating elaborations. In response to this problem, the present study introduced a condition that maximized students' processing of material while supporting their knowledge base through supplied elaborations. In this condition, students were required to judge the adequacy of provided elaborations and explain their judgments. Such a strategy entails active evaluation and reflection while processing the new information, yet poses fewer demands on the learners' prior knowledge. It was expected that this strategy might produce similar learning gains to elaborative interrogation and exceed the performance of simply repeating the provided elaborations. The present study examines the relative efficacy of memory strategies when they are provided versus self-generated, and extends the developmental and experimental research by including an adolescent population.

### *Method*

#### *Subjects*

One hundred and twenty high school students (53 male and 67 female) volunteered to participate in this study. The sample comprised 17 10th-graders, 34 11th-graders, and 69 12th-graders. Students were drawn from two schools in Southern Ontario and ranged in age from 14 to 19 years ( $M=16$  years, 7 months,  $SD=1$  year). Students were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions: elaborative interrogation, judgment of provided elaborations, ex-



perimeter-provided elaborations, and repetition. Approximately equal proportions of males and females were assigned to each condition.

### *Materials and Procedure*

Students were tested individually in their school. The session began by training students to use their assigned strategy for three practice sentences. Students were then asked to use that strategy to learn 54 animal facts. After study, students were given a five-item distractor task before completing a 54-item memory test.

All students studied six facts about nine animals plus three practice sentences. The sentences contained information about the living environment, diet, sleep habits, predators, preferred and global habitat for each of the following nine animals: Grey Seal, Townsend Mole, Emperor Penguin, Little Brown Bat, Blue Whale, House Mouse, Swift Fox, Western Spotted Skunk, and American Pika. Factual content of the sentences was verified for both 4th- to 8th-graders and adults (see Wood et al., 1990; Willoughby et al., 1993, respectively). These materials presented information that was novel, yet drew from a topic domain of which learners had some general knowledge.

Four sets of study sentences were constructed, one for each of the elaborative interrogation and repetition conditions and two sets for the provided conditions. Sentences were presented one at a time with an accompanying study prompt. In the elaborative interrogation condition, each set of sentences was followed by the study prompt "Why would that animal do/have that?" In the repetition condition, each fact was followed by the prompt "Read the sentence at a rate that allows you to understand that the fact is true." For the provided elaboration conditions sentence extensions accompanied each sentence. An adequate and an inadequate elaboration were constructed for each fact. Adequate elaborations explained the significance of the animal engaging in the specific behavior (e.g., *The grey seal lives on exposed rocky coasts* so that the sun can warm the rocks before it lies on them.) while inadequate elaborations failed to clarify why that animal in particular would engage in the described behavior (e.g., *The grey seal lives on exposed rocky coasts* because it lives near water.). The two types of elaborations were included to ensure that students in the judgment condition perceived their task as both interesting and valuable. Half of the adequate elaborations for each animal were assigned to one set and the remaining half to the other set. Likewise, half the inadequate items were assigned to each set. Therefore, the two sets of animal facts were counter-balanced for the presentation of adequate and inadequate elaborations in the provided elaboration conditions.

Students in the elaborative interrogation condition generated responses to the *why* question. The experimenter specified that good answers to *why* questions explain why a given fact is true of that animal in particular and no other animal. During the practice trials, the experimenter provided feedback and prompting until an adequate elaboration was generated. Students in the repetition and experimenter-provided elaboration condition were instructed to repeat each sentence aloud at a rate that would enable them to comprehend the sentence so that they could recall the information later. Students in the provided elaboration condition were also told that understanding the provided elaboration would help them to remember the information. Students who

judged the provided elaborations were instructed to evaluate whether the elaboration was “good” or “poor” and to justify their evaluation. They were told that a good elaboration (adequate) would explain why only that particular animal rather than any other animal would engage in the activity and that poor elaborations (inadequate) would fail to clarify this relation.

After studying the three practice sentences, students in all four conditions completed a sample recall test. Students were presented the animal behavior in the form of a *which* question and their task was to generate the animal name. For example, “Which animal lives on exposed rocky coasts?” (Answer: grey seal).

After the practice session, students were reminded of their strategy instructions. Students were then presented with the 54 to-be-learned animal facts that were prerecorded on audiotape with 18-second intervals between each sentence. This was done to ensure that all students were exposed to the complete fact and to minimize difficulties resulting from reading ability. The interval following each sentence provided time for the learners to employ their study strategy. All students were instructed to study aloud and their responses were recorded on audiotape. This provided a means to ensure that students were using the assigned strategy at study. No feedback was provided during the study phase.

Prior to the memory test all students completed a five-item distractor task that asked questions about students’ general interest in animals. This task was included to reduce recency effects. Memory was then measured via a 54-item cued recall task. Students were provided with the animal behavior and asked to generate the appropriate animal name. Recall test items were asked in a different random order for each student.

Results

The main analyses were conducted on the memory test data. Memory for the animal facts was compared across the four study conditions using an analysis of variance (ANOVA). The mean recall scores are reported in Table 1. There was a significant effect for study condition  $F(3, 116)=6.28, p<.001$ . Differences were assessed using Tukey’s HSD post hoc comparison procedure. Consistent with our expectation, recall performance in the elaborative interrogation condition did not differ from the judgment condition,  $t(116)=2.20, p>.05$ . Students in the elaborative interrogation condition significantly outperformed students in both the repetition and the experimenter-provided elaboration condition,

Table 1  
Mean Recall Scores Across Experimental Conditions

|                                             | Mean  | SD   |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|------|
| Elaborative Interrogation                   | 34.13 | 6.99 |
| Judgment                                    | 29.33 | 8.83 |
| Provided Elaboration                        | 26.53 | 9.32 |
| Repetition of Facts of Non-elaborated Facts | 25.50 | 8.43 |

Note. Maximum score for each group is 54.  $n=30$  per cell.



$t(116)=3.96, p<.05$  and  $3.49, p<.05$  respectively, consistent with previous research. No other comparisons were significant, largest  $t(116)=1.76, p>.05$  for the judgment versus repetition comparison.

*Relation of Quality of Responses to Memory Performance*

*Elaborative interrogation.* Study responses were examined to assess the impact of the quality of response generated at study on subsequent recall. The elaborations were scored as adequate, inadequate, or no response. Adequate responses clearly specified the significance of the behavior for that particular animal. Inadequate elaborations included simple restatements, incomplete responses, or explanations that failed to clarify why that animal would engage in that behavior. Adequate responses were further categorized into correct, incorrect, and pat categories. These categories were constructed to reflect the source of information that the students accessed when answering the *why* questions in order to determine whether access to appropriate (i.e., scientifically correct) information was necessary for the success of this strategy or whether access to less accurate or less specific preexisting knowledge would promote learning. Correct responses corresponded with expert knowledge of the animal. Incorrect elaborations used information that was not true of the animal. Pat responses were elaborations that were general or vague.

Interrater reliability was established by two raters who scored over 30% of the elaborations with 95% agreement. Differences were resolved by discussion. The remaining data were scored by one of the two raters.

Overall, the majority of elaborations were adequate (60%). Students generated inadequate elaborations for 33% of the facts and failed to generate a response for only 7% of the facts (see Table 2 for mean scores). Of the adequate responses, the majority of elaborations were factually correct (74%).

A series of item-by-item conditional probabilities was calculated to determine the relation between the quality of responses provided at study and subsequent memory performance. Each elaboration provided at study was matched to the corresponding response on the memory test (means are reported in Table 2). Two sets of comparisons were conducted using Tukey's HSD procedure, one set for the adequate, inadequate, and no response categories and one for the correct, incorrect, and pat distinctions. The probability of

Table 2  
Frequencies and Probabilities of Correct Recall as a Function of Adequacy of Response in the Elaborative Interrogation Condition

|                    | Conditional Probabilities |      |     | <i>n</i> | Frequencies |       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|----------|-------------|-------|
|                    | <i>n</i>                  | Mean | SD  |          | Mean        | SD    |
| No Response        | 19                        | .42  | .29 | 30       | 3.97        | 6.33  |
| Inadequate         | 30                        | .62  | .18 | 30       | 17.53       | 7.95  |
| Adequate           | 30                        | .67  | .12 | 30       | 32.50       | 10.15 |
| Correct Adequate   | 30                        | .71  | .11 | 30       | 23.93       | 8.77  |
| Incorrect Adequate | 29                        | .52  | .39 | 30       | 3.47        | 2.81  |
| Pat Adequate       | 30                        | .57  | .29 | 30       | 5.10        | 2.88  |

recalling an item was greater if learners generated an adequate or an inadequate response than if they failed to respond,  $t(76)=4.39$ ,  $p<.05$  and  $t(76)=3.51$ ,  $p<.05$ , respectively. Memory performance did not differ following the generation of adequate versus inadequate elaborations,  $t(76)=1.00$ ,  $p>.05$ .

The probability of correct recall was higher for correct elaborations than incorrect elaborations,  $t(86)=2.57$ ,  $p<.05$ . There were no other significant differences,  $t(86)=1.89$ ,  $p>.05$  for the correct versus pat comparison and  $t(86)=.68$ ,  $p>.05$  for the incorrect versus pat comparison.

### *Discussion*

Consistent with previous research involving children (Wood et al., 1990) and adults (Pressley et al., 1987), this study demonstrated that adolescents remember more when they use elaborative interrogation relative to rehearsal of elaborated and non-elaborated material. As in the adult population, provided elaborations did not offer any advantage for these students relative to simple repetition of the non-elaborated materials. There were no differences between the elaborative interrogation and judgment conditions, suggesting that there is some advantage for supporting students' learning by providing elaborations, but only when students are encouraged to actively process the information in a meaningful fashion.

In our judgment condition, students were encouraged to be more active by explicit directions to use the provided elaborations to understand the to-be-learned material. Requiring students to evaluate the provided elaborations encouraged them to determine whether the elaboration would help them to understand the information, which in turn made them focus on the relations presented in the to-be-learned material. It was expected that the cognitive effort and hence the processing expended in the elaborative interrogation and judgment conditions would be comparable. This was supported by the lack of significant differences in memory performance between the elaborative interrogation and judgment conditions. However, it could be argued that elaborative interrogation may provide some advantage relative to the judgment condition. For example, the judgment condition did not outperform the provided elaboration or repetition condition as did elaborative interrogation.

This possible advantage for the elaborative interrogation strategy may be attributed to the way students process information when using this strategy. For example, elaborative interrogation may promote greater integration of the material. Integration may be seen at two levels. First, students are encouraged to draw from their own prior knowledge to respond to the question, thereby integrating the to-be-learned information within existing schemata (Willoughby, Wood, & Khan, in press). Second, students may be better able to understand the information if they integrate the facts as they are presented in the sequence. Students who use information provided early in the animal set to understand later facts may develop stronger interconnections and associations among the facts that enhances both understanding and retrieval.

Instructions to judge the provided elaborations, in contrast, may encourage students to actively associate the items within a fact but not process the facts holistically for each animal. In fact, we examined this possibility by contrasting both the number of times students generated information that clearly represented prior knowledge and the number of times they integrated previous facts



given during study. Elaborative interrogation students were more likely to make reference to existing prior knowledge and to previous presented facts when studying than students in the judgment condition, largest  $t(57)=11.07$ ,  $p<.05$  for the prior knowledge contrast. This suggests that we need to encourage students to go beyond processing discrete or independent items, perhaps by providing explicit instructions to access their prior knowledge.

Performance in the provided elaboration condition was not greater than that in the simple repetition condition. This parallels similar findings in the adult literature when students are exposed to an intentional learning situation (Pressley et al., 1987). Adolescents, like adults, may be able to mediate performance through the spontaneous activation of more complex strategies when instructed to rehearse non-elaborated facts, hence elevating performance. Alternatively, these students may have been distracted by the provided elaborations to the extent that they were unable to understand when the arbitrariness of the to-be-learned information was reduced (Pressley, Wood, & Woloshyn, 1990). In either case, simply providing students with information is insufficient to promote learning. Adolescents, like most learners, require explicit instructions to actively and thoroughly process to-be-learned material.

The findings in this study also are consistent with the trend observed by Wood et al. (1990) with grade school children. That is, generating a response to the *why* question, whether adequate or inadequate, resulted in greater probability of correct recall than if a response was not made at all. When younger students fail to generate an elaboration, it might be that they are not processing the new information thoroughly, and this partial processing may not be sufficient to allow the information to be embedded in their knowledge base. Adults, on the other hand, demonstrate equivalent performance across these categories, suggesting that the mere attempt to generate a response activates a network of information related to the to-be-learned facts (Pressley et al., 1987; Woloshyn et al., 1990). In the present study, the probability of correct recall was much higher following generation of a correct elaboration than an incorrect one. This pattern appears to be consistent across age (Willoughby et al., 1993; Wood et al., 1990) and verifies the importance of access to an appropriate knowledge base.

In summary, the pattern of performance in this study with adolescents most closely mirrors that of grade school children both when comparing across study strategies and the impact of quality in the elaborative interrogation condition. Adding an active component, as in the judgment condition, provides some added support for these students, but their performance is maximized when they are explicitly instructed to use their prior knowledge through strategies such as elaborative interrogation.

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## Note

Correspondence about this article should be directed to Eileen Wood, Department of Psychology, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3C5.

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Joseph Blase

and

Jo Roberts

University of Georgia

## The Micropolitics of Teacher Work Involvement: Effective Principals' Impacts on Teachers

*Although the micropolitics of educational settings has received significant attention in recent years, few empirical studies of this important phenomenon have been published. The data discussed in this article were drawn from a larger, open-ended qualitative study that examined the perspectives of 1,200 teachers on the everyday political strategies school principals use to influence them. Because of their theoretical significance, the responses of the 836 teachers who specifically described their principals as open and effective are the focus of this article. The data strongly suggest that the strategic orientation of effective principals—here described in terms of the emergent concept of normative-instrumental leadership—has a positive impact on teacher work involvement. Such involvement, the data argue, develops primarily because the influence strategies and related goals pursued by open and effective principals are congruent with teachers' moral/value dispositions. A second concept derived from the data—normative-instrumental involvement—outlines the teachers' specific affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses to effective principals. Theoretical ideas relevant to this concept are briefly discussed using elements of Etzioni's (1961, 1975) compliance theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The study's implications for school restructuring and teacher empowerment are also explored.*

*Quoique la micropolitique dans le milieu éducationnel s'est mérité une certaine attention depuis quelques années, très peu d'études empiriques ont été publiées sur ce phénomène important. Les données discutées dans cet article ont été tirées d'une plus grande étude qualitative qui cherchait à sonder les perspectives de 1200 enseignant(e)s sur les stratégies politiques quotidiennes qu'utilisaient les directeurs et les directrices d'école pour influencer le corps professoral. Cet article examine de près les réponses de 836 enseignant(e)s qui ont décrit leurs directeurs et directrices d'école comme étant particulièrement ouvert(e)s et efficaces. Ces réponses ont une valeur théorique importante. Les données suggèrent fortement que l'orientation stratégique des directeurs et directrices efficaces—étant décrite en terme d'un concept émergent d'un leadership normatif-instrumental—auraient un impact positif sur le niveau de participation des enseignant(e)s dans leur milieu de travail. Les données énoncent que cette participation dans le milieu de travail croît surtout parce que les stratégies d'influence et les buts reliés poursuivis par les directeurs et directrices d'école ouvert(e)s et efficaces correspondent de façon directe avec les principes moralité/valeur des enseignant(e)s. De ces données provient un deuxième concept—celui de la participation normative-instrumentale—qui décrit les réactions spécifiques affectives, cognitives, et comportementales des enseignant(e)s envers les directeurs et directrices efficaces. En se servant des éléments de la théorie d'acquiescement d'Etzioni (1961, 1975), on discute brièvement quelques idées théori-*

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Joseph Blase is a professor of educational leadership. Current research interests include the micropolitics of education and the sociology of teaching.

Jo Roberts is an associate professor of educational leadership. Her current research focuses on the principalship and supervisory discourse. She has extensive experience as a teacher, principal, director of staff development, and educational consultant.



*ques reliées à ce concept (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). On explore également les implications de la restructuration des écoles et de la prise de plein pouvoir des enseignant(e)s.*

Over the last few years micropolitical research in education has expanded rapidly. In general, such research focuses on the political-influence strategies individuals and groups use in organizational settings to influence and to protect themselves from others (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991; Pfeffer, 1981). Ball (1987) described the micropolitics of change, career, gender, and interpersonal relationships, among other things, in British comprehensive schools. From studies of teachers, Blase (1988) generated descriptive and conceptual findings on the everyday politics of favoritism in schools. The novel phenomenon of “contrived collegiality” as it relates to relationships among teachers was discussed by Hargreaves (1991). Corbett (1991) traced the impact of parents’ actions on the micropolitics of discipline policy at the school level. The “assumptive worlds” of assistant principals and their functions and consequences for site-level politics were analyzed by Marshall and Mitchell (1991). Other studies have examined everyday political relationships between teachers and students (Blase, 1991; Bloome & Willett, 1991; Optolow, 1991); between a department head and teachers (Sparks, 1990); and among a superintendent, principal, and teachers (Kleine-Kracht & Wong, 1991); as well as teachers’ political responses to school reform efforts (Noblit, Berry, & Dempsey, 1991).

In parallel fashion, relationships between school principals and teachers have received increased attention in micropolitical research. This emerging stream of research has emphasized the politics of principal control and its adverse consequences for teachers. Anderson (1991) observed that the practice of ideological control by school principals severely limits teacher participation in organizational processes. Blase (1990) investigated the control and protectionist politics of principals and their negative impact on teachers’ classroom and schoolwide performance. Ball (1987) linked three “control” styles of school heads (i.e., principals) primarily to negative outcomes such as frustration and fatalism in teachers. Thus far, only Greenfield (1991) has explored the political orientation of open and effective principals in relation to teachers. From observations of both cooperative and consensual processes between one school principal and faculty in an urban elementary school, Greenfield produced brief descriptions of the principal’s strategies and their consequences for teachers. He concluded that the principal’s power in relation to teachers was derived largely from a common value (i.e., moral) base.

Despite the glimpses of positive and collaborative forms of politics provided by Greenfield (1991), the descriptive and theoretical work on the use of such positive influence strategies by principals and on their impact on teachers is limited. For example, different strategies and techniques were not discussed conceptually in Greenfield’s work, nor were teachers’ responses differentiated and described in detail. And although Ball (1987) describes three control styles used by school heads, his emphasis is on the negative responses of teachers.

In these and other respects the present study contrasts sharply with related work by Greenfield and Ball. The data presented here ( $n=836$ ) are a subset of a wide sample of over 1,200 public school teachers; principals’ influence strategies and their perceived affective, cognitive, and behavioral impacts on

teachers are specifically described; underlying control and exchange dynamics explaining political interactions are detailed; a new concept of teacher work involvement is presented; and this and other theoretical findings are discussed using elements from Etzioni's (1961, 1975) compliance theory.

### *Research Methods and Procedures*

Data were collected and analyzed from a symbolic interactionist perspective. This perspective recognizes that although structural factors (e.g., organizational, cultural) influence action, the interpretations and meanings that people attach to such factors account for action. In other words, people's capacity for reflexivity has more influence on action than structural factors. The symbolic interactionist perspective views the individual as a social product who is influenced by others but who also maintains distance from others and is able to initiate individual action (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934). In contrast to some qualitative research orientations, symbolic interactionism stresses the structure of individual consciousness and perceptions (Blumer, 1969; Tesch, 1988).

Thus the larger study from which this article was drawn employed open-ended questions and focused on the broad question, What are teachers' definitions of the strategies school principals use to influence them? Consistent with inductive-grounded approaches to qualitative inquiry, interpretive data relevant to teachers' perspectives were collected and analyzed to generate descriptive categories and conceptual and theoretical ideas (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Allport (1942) suggests that an open-ended questionnaire can be a useful personal document for qualitative research that attempts to focus on the subjective perceptions of individuals. Such an instrument is defined as "any self-revealing document that intentionally or unintentionally yields information regarding the structure, dynamics and functioning of the author's life" (p. xii). A questionnaire is defined as a personal document when the research participants exercise substantial control over the content of their responses. Questionnaires of this type have been employed successfully in other recent research (e.g., Blase, 1986, 1988; Blase & Pajak, 1986; Pajak & Blase, 1989). The research described in this article relies on teachers' perceptions of principals' strategies collected outside of the school settings in which teachers worked. Therefore, the accuracy of the teachers' perceptions cannot be demonstrated here. In fact one would expect the perceptions of people occupying different roles to vary (Blumer, 1969; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Mead, 1934).

An open-ended questionnaire, the Inventory of Strategies Used by Principals to Influence Teachers (ISUPIT), was designed to elicit personal meanings regarding the research topic. To develop the first version of the questionnaire, the researcher consulted with a committee of three professors and five teachers. This instrument was piloted with a diverse group of 39 full-time teachers who were graduate students in education at a major state university. Suggestions made by the committee and students were considered in the construction of the final form of the instrument.

The ISUPIT consists of three legal-size pages. On the first page teachers are asked to provide basic background information and to rate their principals with regard to three aspects of leadership—closedness-openness, ineffectiveness-effectiveness, and authoritarian-participatory—on three 7-point scales.



On the two subsequent pages, teachers are asked to provide detailed descriptions of *two* influence strategies used by their school principals. The specific items listed on page 2 and repeated on page 3 are as follows:

- (a) Describe and give a detailed example of a strategy or tactic (overt or covert, formal or informal, positive or negative) that your principal uses frequently to influence what you *do* or *think* in the school or in the classroom.
- (b) Describe and give an example of the *effects* (impact) that the strategy has on your thinking and behavior (if any).
- (c) Describe and illustrate what you believe to be your principal's *goals/purposes* in using the strategy identified above.
- (d) How *effective* is the strategy in getting you to think and do what the principal intended? [7-point scale]. Please explain why.
- (e) What *feelings* (if any) do you have about your principal's use of this strategy?

Exploratory-inductive survey research of this nature is designed to produce data-based descriptive categories and theoretical understandings by including a wide variety of research participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), thereby maximizing variation in the data (i.e., differences). Because of the open-ended design of the ISUPIT, the substantial time required for completion (about 40 minutes), and the sensitivity of "political" research to practitioners, a mail survey was ruled out. Rather, 14 professors of education administered the ISUPIT between 1989 and 1990 to full-time public school teachers who were taking courses in five on- and off-campus centers located in one southeastern, one northeastern, and one northwestern state. Involvement in this study was voluntary; teachers were instructed not to write their names on the research instrument.

Of the more than 1,200 respondents who completed the ISUPIT, 836 identified their principals as open, effective, and relatively participatory on the 7-point scales provided (means were 5.7, 5.9, and 5.2, respectively). This article presents only that portion of the data, with an emphasis on the affective, cognitive, and behavioral *impacts* of the strategies used by principals. Blase (1993) has examined in detail each of the strategies briefly discussed here. Data related to principals who were viewed as closed and ineffective will be presented elsewhere. Although the decision to focus on findings related to open/effective/participatory principals was based in part on space limitations, a more important consideration was the theoretical and practical significance of this area of inquiry in educational administration.

The primary sample consisted of male ( $n=172$ ) and female ( $n=664$ ) teachers from rural ( $n=292$ ), suburban, ( $n=443$ ), and urban ( $n=101$ ) school locations. Elementary ( $n=335$ ), junior/middle ( $n=284$ ), and high school teachers ( $n=217$ ) participated. The average age of teachers was 37; the average number of years of teaching experience was 12. The sample included tenured ( $n=714$ ) and nontenured ( $n=122$ ) teachers. Married ( $n=669$ ), single ( $n=130$ ), and divorced teachers ( $n=37$ ) participated. Degrees earned were BA/BS ( $n=299$ ), MEd/EdS ( $n=523$ ), and EdD/PhD ( $n=14$ ).

The teachers described both male ( $n=497$ ) and female principals ( $n=339$ ). The mean number of years with the current principal at the time of this study

was 4. The ratio of female principals to male principals is substantially higher than the national ratio. This may in part explain the extensive use of what teachers referred to as “positive” (i.e., acceptable) strategies by principals described in this article. Other research points out that female administrators, in comparison with male administrators, tend to emphasize many of these positive strategies and related goals: support for instruction, visibility in classrooms, cooperation and participation with teachers, and a concern for teacher satisfaction and commitment (Shakeshaft, 1987). However, the present data indicated no differences in use of strategies for effective male and female principals described in the study sample except with respect to two of the “negative” (unacceptable) political strategies: authoritarianism and coercion. A much higher percentage of males was identified with the use of these two strategies.

In general, slight differences were evident when the study sample was compared with the national distribution of teachers in terms of gender, age, marital status, and degree earned. The sample was slightly higher in the percentage of female teachers and slightly lower in the percentage of male teachers as well as average years of experience. The percentage of rural teachers in the sample closely approximated the national distribution, but the percentages of urban and suburban teachers were lower and higher, respectively, in the sample than they are in the national teaching population. Finally, the sample included a lower proportion of elementary teachers and higher proportions of middle/junior and high school teachers than are found nationally (National Education Association, 1983, 1990).

Data from the subsample of 836 teachers were coded according to principles for comparative analysis (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This inductive procedure consists of comparing each new element encountered in the data with those coded previously in terms of emergent categories, themes, and theoretical ideas. Line-by-line analysis of each open-ended questionnaire page produced a total of 1,323 examples of strategy use. These were grouped into eight major influence strategies, each consisting of several practices (i.e., actions designed to implement strategies).

Comparative analyses of influence strategies generated three types of perceived impacts (i.e., effects) on teachers: affective, cognitive, and behavioral. Each of these three general categories was coded in terms of specific impacts. For example, within the general category of affective impacts were coded the specific impacts of teacher satisfaction, esteem, motivation, and inclusion. The three general impact categories were further analyzed into two larger domains: the instructional-social (student) domain and the noninstructional domain.

Display matrices were constructed for the purpose of synthesizing perceived impacts identified with each influence strategy (Miles & Huberman, 1984). These matrices facilitated numerical analyses of strategies as well as further substantive analyses of impacts. This procedure also permitted the identification of different strategies with similar impacts.

In addition, descriptive matrices were used to identify conceptual and theoretical codes grounded in the data (Miles & Huberman, 1984). For example, these matrices permitted comparisons across strategies and were useful in identifying and refining analyses of emergent ideas such as control, ex-



change, and empowerment. This approach also facilitated comparisons of the study data with the relevant literature, a procedure consistent with grounded qualitative methods (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Specifically, some of the major findings from the present study are discussed in terms of certain elements from Etzioni's (1961, 1975) compliance theory.

Two questionnaire pages were available for descriptions of strategies. On each of these two pages respondents discussed one influence strategy and frequently several perceived impacts of that strategy. (Some respondents, however, described only one strategy.) Therefore, each completed page was analyzed for only one influence strategy, the strategy identified in item "a" on each questionnaire page. (This point is important, as respondents often alluded to other strategies used by their principal in their descriptions of a particular strategy.) In all, 836 teachers described 1,323 examples of influence strategies used by principals with whom they worked and who they believed were open and effective. These teachers also discussed a total of 1,703 examples of impacts. Throughout this article, *f* refers to the frequency of responses associated with a given influence strategy or impact.

The data related to each influence strategy were also inspected to determine if its use was linked to such characteristics as gender of principal and gender of teacher. No conclusions could be drawn from this analysis.

One researcher analyzed the questionnaire data, a procedure requiring approximately 1,200 hours. In addition, three professors and five doctoral students were consulted when questions arose. As noted, each matrix was designed to display a different segment of raw data, categories of data, and data related to thematic and theoretical codes. As a final check of the researcher's analysis, three doctoral students were trained to examine samples of the study data. This procedure produced an interrater reliability score of .97.

Consistent with the principles for inductive research, all the basic descriptive categories (e.g., strategies and impacts), broader categories/themes (e.g., control, compliance, exchange, empowerment, work involvement), and conceptual ideas (e.g., normative-instrumental leadership, normative instrumental involvement) emerged directly from substantial data appearing on the ISUPIT. No a priori concepts were used to code data. However, several of these emergent ideas (e.g., control, compliance, exchange) are generally similar to ideas already discussed in the extant literature. Given space limitations, brief quotes are used to illustrate selected ideas. (Please note that the above description of research and methods is similar to what appeared in Blase, 1993.)

### *The Findings*

This section begins with a brief overview of the concept of *normative instrumental leadership*, followed by descriptions of the eight major influence strategies and three minor influence strategies identified with this type of leadership. Perceived connections between the strategies and affective, cognitive, and behavioral impacts on teachers are then discussed. The section concludes with a description of *normative-instrumental involvement*, a concept constructed from the study data that integrates the three categories of impacts identified above.

### *Normative-Instrumental Leadership*

The term *normative instrumental leadership*, previously derived inductively from the larger study, captures the everyday influence orientation of open and effective principals toward teachers. Normative-instrumental leadership refers to a political orientation in which control of teachers is a primary goal of principals (although some principals also use an empowerment strategy), and such control is explained in terms of both social exchange and principal-teacher value congruence. In terms of the former, open/effective principals communicate “expectations,” overtly and subtly, about both the ends (goals, purposes) and means of teachers’ work in schools. Teachers tend to comply with such expectations in return for the explicit and implicit benefits (e.g., rewards, support, goal achievement, opportunities for participation) associated with interactions with principals (Blase, 1993). Exchange was coded in 71% of all data available for the control-oriented strategies to be discussed.

In terms of the latter, the study data suggest that the normative-instrumental orientation of open/effective principals tends to provoke compliance because, on the whole, it is consistent with teachers’ professional values and norms in two fundamental respects. First, it is characterized by the use of “normative” influence strategies (i.e., means of influence congruent with teachers’ values/norms). Second, it is characterized by the principals’ pursuit of “normative” goals (i.e., goals that teachers value and consider legitimate). Thus the term *normative* is used to denote the use of positive (acceptable) influence strategies to achieve goals teachers consider appropriate. For example, it was found that effective principals use predominantly normative influence strategies to achieve normative goals related to innovation in classroom teaching, consideration for students, instructional planning, curriculum development, professional growth, teacher reflection, and collegial collaboration—goals that teachers themselves consider appropriate. Analyses indicated that 84% of all data related to positive influence strategies and goals are normative in the ways described above. Not surprisingly, the three minor negative control strategies (i.e., contrived request for advice, coercion, and authoritarianism) to be described did not reflect value congruence as described above; that is, these influence strategies and the goals identified with them were not considered appropriate by teachers.

The term *instrumental* in normative instrumental leadership is used to emphasize the “pragmatic” link identified in the data between the use of influence strategies by principals and their attempts to elicit teacher compliance to pursue their goals. Put differently, teachers indicated that principals’ strategies were specifically designed to influence teachers to achieve principal-determined goals. (See Blase, 1993, for a full discussion of normative-instrumental leadership.)

### *Strategies*

The concept of normative instrumental leadership consists of influence strategies used to achieve the general goal of control in the context of both value congruence and exchange processes vis-à-vis teachers. In fewer cases, empowerment surfaced as a general goal of open/effective principals. Influence strategies identified with the goal of control are described as control-oriented; those identified with the goal of empowerment are considered



empowerment-oriented. Seven major influence strategies and three minor influence strategies were identified with the control orientation (81% of the total data), and one major strategy—involvement in decision making—was identified with the empowerment orientation (19% of the total data).

A strategy was coded as control-oriented when teachers reported that school principals' goals or teachers' means to achieve goals were decided unilaterally and teachers believed they were obligated to comply. Teacher compliance was reported in over 93% of the data related to the control orientation. *Exchange* was coded when teachers reported that strategic interactions with principals were based on transactions of symbolic (e.g., advice, praise) and tangible (e.g., funds, materials) goods; as noted, exchange processes appeared in 71% of available data for all control strategies. Teachers did not associate exchange processes with the empowerment orientation.

A strategy was coded as empowerment-oriented in two ways: *Decision making* (49% of empowerment data) was coded when it was reported principals and teachers jointly assumed authority for determining goals and the means to achieve them, and/or principals empowered teachers individually or collectively to do so. *Authentic request for advice* (51% of empowerment data) was coded when teachers reported they gave opinions on a narrow range of issues defined by principals. Taken together, decision making and authentic request for advice constitute the strategy—*involvement in decision making*.

The effectiveness rating (i.e., the perceived capacity of each strategy to produce affective, cognitive, and behavioral impacts on teachers) of six of the seven major control-oriented strategies (the exception was formal authority) and the one empowerment strategy were over 6.0 (on rising 7-point scales). The mean effectiveness rating for formal authority was 5.7; for the three minor negative control strategies (i.e., contrived request for advice, coercion, authoritarianism), effectiveness ratings were 3.8, 3.5, and 2.3, respectively.

### *The Control Orientation*

The four positive major influence strategies—rewards, formal authority, support, communication of expectations—and the three minor negative influence strategies—contrived request for advice, coercion, authoritarianism—identified with the control orientation of normative-instrumental leadership are described below.

*Rewards* ( $f=300$ ). Two types of rewards, praise ( $f=268$ ) and material ( $f=32$ ), were coded in the data. Praise refers to principals' willingness to recognize individuals and entire faculties for their successes, particularly exceptional performance. Terms such as *praises*, *compliments*, and *gives credit* were used to describe this everyday political strategy. Effective and open principals used formal and informal, public and private, and oral, nonverbal, and written means to praise teachers; praise tended to occur regularly and predictably, most frequently through face-to-face interaction with individuals. Principals also provided teachers with material rewards that carried special significance.

*Formal authority* ( $f=161$ ). As a strategy, authority refers to exercising the legitimate rights/powers of the principalship to elicit changes in teachers. *Assigns*, *states*, *announces*, and *mandates* were terms teachers used to describe this strategy. The data indicate that although authority was typically exercised unilaterally, it was applied fairly and respectfully. Authority was used widely

to influence teachers' instructional and noninstructional work performance. Compared with all other positive influence strategies, formal authority had lower perceived impacts on teachers.

*Support* ( $f=137$ ). The data suggest that as a means of everyday influence, principals provide several forms of support to teachers. *Advice and direct intervention* related to instruction was described as one form of support. Advice, both solicited and unsolicited, was given to "help" teachers deal with a wide range of needs and problems.

In addition, teachers reported that to influence them principals offered *administrative support* by attempting to reduce or eliminate factors (e.g., paperwork, faculty meetings) that interfered with their time.

*Student-related support* refers to a willingness on the part of principals to back up teachers in their decisions regarding student misbehavior and to stand behind teachers in disputes with the parents of students.

Principals also made available *financial and material support*, usually to meet instructional or professional growth goals of teachers. This type of support refers to providing monetary (e.g., tuition for professional conferences) and material assistance to effect changes in teachers' instructional abilities and generally to promote teacher development.

Finally, open and effective principals provided formal (e.g., staff development) and informal (day-to-day, impromptu, casual) *supportive training* to develop practical knowledge and skill in teachers.

*Communication of expectations* ( $f=112$ ). Although it can be argued that all influence strategies discussed in this article implicitly convey expectations, open and effective principals also spent significant amounts of time clarifying and reinforcing expectations. Terms such as *clarifies*, *explains*, and *informs* were used to describe how principals communicate their expectations.

*Visibility* ( $f=75$ ). This influence strategy refers to a principal's willingness to spend substantial amounts of time in locations throughout the school—including hallways and classrooms—developing a schoolwide presence, "being available," and taking advantage of opportunities to influence teachers.

*Modeling* ( $f=115$ ). Modeling and the following influence strategy—suggestion—were seen as slightly less directive than those already discussed. Consequently, teachers allowed themselves slightly more discretion and variation in response to these strategies. Modeling describes actions by principals that dramatize a range of implicit and explicit expectations designed to influence teachers. Three personal characteristics of principals—optimism, consideration, and honesty—were coded as aspects of modeling. Optimism refers to a global and positive orientation; consideration refers to exhibiting a sincere and broad interest in "teachers as human beings"; and honesty refers to a willingness to be straightforward.

*Suggestion* ( $f=72$ ). This influence strategy, in contrast to more overtly directive strategies, relies heavily on interpersonal diplomacy and facilitative techniques such as questioning. Open and effective principals frequently used the professional literature (e.g., research articles) to effect changes in teachers.

*Contrived request for advice* ( $f=52$ ), *Coercion* ( $f=28$ ) and *Authoritarianism* ( $f=23$ ). Contrived request for advice describes principals' eliciting input from teachers that would then be ignored as the principals attempted to influence teachers in



Table 1  
Strategies Used by Effective Principals to Influence Teachers

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|                                        |
|----------------------------------------|
| <i>Influence strategies</i>            |
| <i>Control orientation:</i>            |
| Rewards (f=300)                        |
| Formal authority (f=161)               |
| Support (f=137)                        |
| Communication of expectations (f=112)  |
| Visibility (f=75)                      |
| Modeling (f=115)                       |
| Suggestion (f=72)                      |
| Contrived request for advice (f=52)    |
| Coercion (f=28)                        |
| Authoritarianism (f=23)                |
| <i>Empowerment orientation:</i>        |
| Involvement in decision making (f=300) |

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predetermined directions. Coercion refers to the direct and indirect use of punishment or the threat of punishment to control teachers. Authoritarian practices emphasize preempting teachers' involvement in decisions. It should be emphasized that although these strategies were used by principals considered to be open and effective, these individuals were seen by teachers as relatively less open and less effective than others discussed in the data base. The data also indicate, as previously noted, that these three influence strategies (and the goals identified with them) were not congruent with teachers' professional norms/values and thus they usually failed to influence teachers in positive directions.

*The Empowerment Orientation*

*Involvement in decision making* (f=300). This strategy constitutes the empowerment dimension of normative-instrumental leadership. To reiterate, this influence strategy consists of two subcategories: decision making and authentic request for advice. To reiterate, decision making describes a situation in which principals and teachers jointly make decisions and/or teachers individually or collectively do so. Authentic request for advice describes a condition in which teachers share their opinions on issues identified by principals.

Principals' willingness to encourage teacher involvement in decision making was discussed by respondents as both a formal and an informal strategy. Formal means included the use of a variety of committee/team structures to elicit teacher participation.

Although teachers' formal involvement in decision making was sometimes direct, more commonly principals limited decision making to key administrative personnel (e.g., department chairpersons). According to the data, teachers were more involved in making decisions when formal participatory structures were available. However, participatory structures notwithstanding, principals continued to influence (although they did not unilaterally deter-

mine) goals, topics, problems, and actions to be taken. This was evident even for teachers who worked in schools they identified as “restructured.”

Authentic request for advice was also designed to provide legitimate channels for teachers to express their thoughts and feelings on a range of personal and professional issues. Scheduled and impromptu conversations in which principals solicited input directly from teachers on particular issues were mentioned often by respondents.

*The Impact of Principals’ Normative-Instrumental Leadership on Affective, Cognitive, and Behavioral Dimensions of Teacher Work Involvement*

Three types of impacts—*affective*, *cognitive*, and *behavioral*—(and related sub-impacts) were coded for each of the influence strategies described above. In a later section of this article these three types of work involvement are discussed as one concept—*normative-instrumental involvement*.

*Affective Impacts*

Major affective impacts of principals’ normative-instrumental leadership include satisfaction, motivation, self-esteem, security, and inclusion. Teachers reported that most influence strategies used by open and effective principals resulted in substantial increases in work *satisfaction*. These included, in descending order of frequency, rewards (100% of responses for this strategy), suggestion (100%), visibility (91%), modeling (86%), support (73%), involvement in decision making (48%), and communication of expectations (35%). Only 22% of responses for formal authority impacted on teacher satisfaction (see Table 2). Terms such as *excellent*, *happy*, *glad*, *comfortable*, *positive*, and *good* were used to describe feelings of satisfaction. One teacher’s remarks about the strategy involvement in decision making (authentic request for advice) illustrate impacts on satisfaction:

My principal often asks for suggestions on the solution of certain problems and considers each suggestion before making a decision. He is informal and very positive. I feel good about this. I am willing to participate (voluntary) in whatever I can do to enhance the functioning of the school because of his democratic manner of conducting business. I am very willing to give 100% plus.... I feel very positive about working with my principal.

Please note that only high impacts are displayed in Table 2. Given the open-ended nature of the questionnaire used to collect data for this study, if analyses produced a minimum frequency of 35% of impact data available for a particular strategy, this was defined as a high impact.

Teachers also indicated that the use of the positive influence strategies—visibility (100%), suggestion (100%), rewards (95%), modeling (93%), support (63%), communication of expectations (61%), involvement in decision making (55%), formal authority (38%)—enhanced their motivation. *Exalted*, *inspired*, and *enthusiastic* were words used to denote increases in motivation. For instance, one teacher wrote, “With financial support I could see that I had access to the means of participating in improvement programs. It eliminated the old hang-up of enthusiasm without means of accomplishment.” Another noted, “This strategy [visibility] keeps me on my toes mentally because I want to be ‘up’ and doing my best when my principal is around.”



Table 2  
\*High Impacts of Influence Strategies Used by Effective Principals on Affective Dimension of Teacher Work Involvement

| Influence strategies                   | Affective impacts/Percent of total responses (f) reported for each strategy |            |             |               |           |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
|                                        | Satisfaction                                                                | Motivation | Self-esteem | Security      | Inclusion |
| Control orientation:                   |                                                                             |            |             |               |           |
| Rewards (f=300)                        | 100                                                                         | 95         | 48          |               | 48        |
| Formal authority (f=161)               |                                                                             | 38         |             |               | 40        |
| Support (f=137)                        | 73                                                                          | 63         |             | 58(**student) |           |
| Communication of expectations (f=112)  | 35                                                                          | 61         |             |               |           |
| Visibility (f=75)                      | 86                                                                          | 100        |             | 43            |           |
| Modeling (f=115)                       | 91                                                                          | 93         |             |               |           |
| Suggestion (f=72)                      | 100                                                                         | 100        |             |               |           |
| Contrived request for advice (f=52)    |                                                                             |            |             |               | 93        |
| Coercion (f=28)                        |                                                                             |            |             |               |           |
| Authoritarianism (f=23)                |                                                                             |            |             |               |           |
| Empowerment orientation:               |                                                                             |            |             |               |           |
| Involvement in decision making (f=300) | 48                                                                          | 55         | 45          | 43            |           |

Note. \*When a minimum of 35% of the available data for a strategy are identified with an impact, this is defined as high.  
\*\*=type of support.

In addition, the use of rewards (48%) and involvement in decision making (45%) were strongly identified with perceived impacts on self-esteem. Terms that appeared frequently in the data in relation to esteem were *confident*, *loved*, *valued*, *respected*, *recognized*, and *appreciated*. The comments of one teacher are typical:

My principal gives a good amount of praise to the teachers at my school—whether it is a note to us, an announcement of our accomplishments to all other teachers, or an individual conference in which she thanks us for the wonderful job we’re doing ... My principal’s actions have had a very positive effect on my self-esteem and confidence ... I try to do what he expects. If a person is good to me I will always be good to him ... I am more apt to volunteer for her projects that she needs help with at school than if I hadn’t been praised.

According to the respondents, two influence strategies—support (student-related) (58%) and visibility (43%)—provoked feelings of security. Words used to describe security included “at ease, not threatened,” “relieved,” “secure,” “free.” A teacher noted, “His support is invaluable.... I am relieved knowing he will be there for me.” Feelings of inclusion were discussed for the use of rewards (48%) and involvement in decision making (43%). The comments of two teachers are illustrative: “I see myself as an important member of the team.” “I am more a part of the school ... and [have] a determination to make things work.”

In a few instances, the use of formal authority (9%) and communication of expectations (7%) were viewed as generating mixed feelings in teachers. One teacher, for example, discussed her response to the use of formal authority: “At first I was very upset but then I came to realize that if just one student learns it will be worth it.... [However,] it would have been better if teachers had been involved in the preplanning.” Mixed feelings resulting from communication of expectations were described by another: “I feel stress and overwhelmed yet I am glad that those teachers who are not performing are now forced to put up or shut up.”

Finally, only the influence strategy of formal authority was frequently identified with negative feelings. Here 40% of the feeling data related to this strategy were decidedly negative. Teachers’ negative reactions to formal authority were associated with its perceived overtly controlling, quasi-coercive, and unethical nature; consequently, the strategy was frequently seen as incongruent with teachers’ professional norms/values. Terms such as *resentful*, *angry*, *bullied*, *intimidated*, *tense*, *guilty*, *depressed*, *frustrated*, and *unpleasant* were used to describe feelings. The remarks of one teacher describe the adverse consequences that may occur for those who viewed principals’ use of formal authority negatively:

Last year the principal required us to have silent lunch in the lunchroom three days a week. No one was allowed to talk ... the whole time was unpleasant. Our principal started this because it was too loud in the lunchroom and we were told that if behavior improved ... we would gradually eliminate some of the days ... No days were ever eliminated ... I felt she [the principal] did us a disservice by never backing off. If the topic of taking away quiet days was mentioned she would consider our suggestions reluctantly but no changes were ever made. She



always mentioned that some people weren't enforcing the rule and we all must "pull together."

The three negative strategies of contrived request for advice, coercion, and authoritarianism (respectively) produced only negative feeling states in teachers.

*Cognitive Impacts*

The major cognitive impacts of principals' leadership are awareness and reflection. The influence strategies (in descending order of frequency) of visibility (100% of responses for this strategy), suggestion (100%), support (training) (73%), communication of expectations (57%), and modeling (54%) were strongly associated with increases in teacher awareness (see Table 2). Formal authority was linked to awareness in 24% of the responses for this influence strategy. Most frequently awareness was described in relation to becoming cognizant of the academic and social needs and problems of students ("I have become aware of the specific needs of our students ... love, discipline, caring, self-esteem and physical needs."). To a lesser extent, teachers reported greater awareness of school-wide issues. (Only high impacts are presented in Table 3.)

Most positive influence strategies discussed in this article were seen as having an impact on teacher reflection to a greater or lesser degree. Reflection refers to the development of an improvement- and problem-centered orientation primarily toward the classroom. For example, teachers thought more strategically about teaching techniques in dealing with students' academic and social needs: "I am constantly trying to think of strategies that emulate my

Table 3  
\*High Impacts of Influence Strategies Used by Effective Principals on  
Cognitive Dimension of Teacher Work Involvement

|                                        | <i>Cognitive impacts/Percent of total responses (f) reported for each strategy</i> |                   |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
|                                        | <i>Awareness</i>                                                                   | <i>Reflection</i> |
| <i>Influence strategies</i>            |                                                                                    |                   |
| <i>Control orientation:</i>            |                                                                                    |                   |
| Rewards (f=300)                        |                                                                                    |                   |
| Formal authority (f=161)               |                                                                                    |                   |
| Support (f=137)                        | 73(**training)                                                                     |                   |
| Communication of expectations (f=112)  | 57                                                                                 |                   |
| Visibility (f=75)                      | 100                                                                                | 51                |
| Modeling (f=115)                       | 54                                                                                 |                   |
| Suggestion (f=72)                      | 100                                                                                | 70                |
| Contrived request for advice (f=52)    |                                                                                    |                   |
| Coercion (f=28)                        |                                                                                    |                   |
| Authoritarianism (f=23)                |                                                                                    |                   |
| <i>Empowerment orientation:</i>        |                                                                                    |                   |
| Involvement in decision making (f=300) |                                                                                    | 76                |

Note. \*When a minimum of 35% of the available data for a strategy are identified with an impact, this is defined as high.

principal's actions." A teacher described the impact on instruction of one principal's use of suggestion vis-à-vis the professional literature:

Our principal uses handouts of research and pertinent information on subjects being taught or discussed at school. He also places in our mailboxes little thought provoking ideas concerning teaching. Coupled with the known knowledge of his thinking ... this lets me know what his expectations are and that I should show signs of professional growth and improvement ... It causes me to analyze my own teaching and evaluate whether I can use the ideas.... I try to include new teaching strategies and/or information in my planning for instruction and my actual instruction.

Some teachers also reported becoming more introspective about personal problems that interfered with their teaching. Less often, increases in teacher reflection were described for routine concerns such as the effective use of available resources and instructional equipment.

However, further analysis of cognitive impacts data pointed to startling differences among positive influence strategies. In fact only three strategies— involvement in decision making (76%), suggestion (70%), and visibility (51%)—appeared to have high impacts on teacher reflection. Other positive strategies were cited by fewer teachers as having an impact on reflection, including communication of expectations (33%), support (18%), modeling (16%), formal authority (13%), and rewards (6%). For the three high impact strategies (i.e., involvement in decision making, suggestion, and visibility), the data suggest that there are several contributing factors: principal trust/respect (for teachers); formal and informal opportunities for expression, coupled with low risk (e.g., of ridicule, criticism) and acceptance; increased levels of teacher meaningful responsibility and authority; sense of efficacy; and collegial interaction. The three negative minor influence strategies discussed in this article had no perceived positive impact on teacher reflection.

Other cognitive outcomes noted less frequently in the data were identified primarily with particular strategies. Use of rewards affected school culture (8%) ("The atmosphere of the school is ... full of expectations. We expect success and achievement and we find these goals to be achieved.") and teachers' desire for participation (12%) ("I desire to participate in school events and support all aspects of the school."). Communication of expectations (6%) was associated with conformity in thought ("I feel that it is expected of me to closely align my thoughts and choices to that of my principal.") and visibility (16%) contributed to teachers' sense of responsibility ("I am aware that I am accountable for my actions."). Involvement in decisions (19%) promoted trust in the system ("I feel there is a way to channel ideas and concerns ... there is a forum for my frustrations or trouble areas that arise."). Support (advice/intervention) (17%) was linked to increases in respect for principals ("I know that he cares ... I see his wisdom in the words and attitudes he expresses.").

Finally, formal authority was seldom identified with positive cognitive responses. Even when teachers responded positively on a behavioral level to the use of formal authority, their cognitive responses were often decidedly negative. As one teacher observed, "Unusual [frequent] criticism makes me less conscientious about living up to my responsibility." Contrived request for



advice, coercion, and authoritarianism were not related to positive cognitive impacts.

### *Behavioral Impacts*

One general theme—compliance (i.e., teachers responded in ways intended by principals)—was derived from substantial behavioral impact data. The link between the use of positive influence strategies by school principals and behavioral compliance in teachers was often discussed explicitly: “I make every effort possible to meet his expectations ... I try to do my best ... live up to his comment ... please the principal.” According to the data, teachers traded their compliance for the implicit and explicit rewards (benefits) associated with the principal’s use of strategies and, in much fewer cases, for the avoidance of punishment or sanctions. Compliance was evident in 95% of the data coded for five of the major influence strategies. (Only high impacts are presented in Table 4.)

Interestingly, teacher compliance was reported almost as frequently (93% of data) as a response to principals’ use of the less directive major strategies of modeling and suggestion. A teacher reported:

My principal leads through example and shows that hard work and fun in learning go hand in hand.... Her goals are to build the self-esteem and self-confidence of students in a supportive way. She frequently visits my class while we are doing laboratory activities and participates with the students by using the equipment, asking questions and asking me questions.... I try to conform to what I think she wants. I start thinking more positively about my class and my role as a teacher. I respond by being more open with my students and I try to develop the same rapport with them that she has.

In addition, the data strongly suggest that the unwillingness on the part of teachers to exercise greater decisional discretion in both the classroom and the school is related directly to their assumption that principals “expect” compliance and a relatively submissive attitude toward administrative authority. As one teacher explained, “He [the principal] is always the boss ... You don’t forget this.” However, the use of contrived request for advice, coercion, and authoritarianism failed to provoke significant levels of compliance in teachers. Instead, avoidance and passive forms of resistance were common. Compliance was evident in only 26% of the data for these strategies. The defensive tone of these data is revealing: “I find myself trying to be sure that he sees me before 7:45 a.m. and after 3:45 p.m. to ‘prove’ that I put in the correct hours each day”; “I felt obligated to do some things ... but it is out of fear of retaliation not a sense of good will.”

A second broad theme, referred to here as work involvement, was gleaned from the behavioral impact data. This theme includes both a quantitative and qualitative dimension (i.e., degree of involvement as well as type of involvement). Regarding the former, a teacher commented, “I work harder. This means I don’t just put in eight hours a day. I work until I am finished.” For the latter, a teacher notes, “I try to do a better job ... work harder to make a unit more successful.”

The data indicate that teacher involvement in work varies in relation to principal influence. Three behavioral subcategories—student and classroom

Table 4  
High Impacts of Influence Strategies Used by Effective Principals on Behavioral Dimension of Teacher Work Involvement

| Behavioral impacts/Percent of total responses (f) reported for each strategy |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                                                              | Student/Classroom          |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    | Professional impacts        |                     |                           | Negative impacts                                                                                                                |           |
|                                                                              | Consideration for students | Innovation and creativity | Instructional planning | Instructional time on task | Monitoring student learning | Curriculum follow through | Student discipline | Relationship with principal | Professional growth | Relationship with parents | Collegial collaboration: Expression/Compliance with/ procedures/Decision making/Follow through/ Compromise/Support for decision | Avoidance |
| Influence strategies                                                         |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Control orientation:                                                         |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Rewards (f=300)                                                              | 52                         | 38                        | 37                     |                            |                             |                           |                    | 93                          | 47                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Formal authority (f=161)                                                     |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     | 37                        |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Support (f=137)                                                              | (**student) 63             | (**financial) 40          |                        |                            |                             |                           | (**student) 100    | 84                          | 73                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Communication of expectations (f=112)                                        | 46                         |                           |                        | 39                         |                             |                           | 50                 | 41                          | 36                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Visibility (f=75)                                                            | 42                         |                           | 42                     | 53                         | 39                          | 35                        |                    | 56                          | 39                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Modeling (f=115)                                                             | 41                         |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    | 89                          | 72                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Suggestion (f=72)                                                            | 37                         | 65                        |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    | 91                          | 83                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 | 89        |
| Contrived request for advice (f=52)                                          |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Coercion (f=28)                                                              |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Authoritarianism (f=23)                                                      |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Empowerment orientation:                                                     |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    |                             |                     |                           |                                                                                                                                 |           |
| Involvement in decision making (f=300)                                       |                            |                           |                        |                            |                             |                           |                    | 57                          | 87                  |                           |                                                                                                                                 | 40        |

Note. \*When a minimum of 35% of the available data for a strategy are identified with an impact, this is defined as high.  
\*\*=type of support.



impacts, professional impacts, and negative impacts—were coded for work involvement. Strong student and classroom impacts were observed in the data. Six influence strategies—support (student) (63% of responses for this strategy), rewards (52%), communication of expectations (46%), visibility (42%), modeling (41%), and suggestion (37%)—were linked to increases in consideration for students. This perceived impact was primarily discussed in the context of addressing social-emotional needs; for example, teachers reported being “more open and patient,” exhibiting greater concern for students’ self-esteem, and “including positive statements in ... explanations of grading policies.” One teacher wrote,

When discussing the needs of a student with disciplinary problems the principal asks us what we think can be done to prevent the student from getting into difficulty.... His approach is non-threatening. The principal will gently suggest ways to keep that student in class or in school. He points out the progress the student has made, the ability level of the student, and what the student probably encounters at home ... His approach makes me more aware and more sensitive to the student’s needs and helps me realize ways I can better serve the student’s needs. I change my approach to a more sympathetic one to help the student.

The influence strategies of suggestion (65%), support (financial-material) (40%), and rewards (38%) were perceived to provoke noteworthy increases in classroom innovation and creativity. The data imply that the use of these influence strategies provided encouragement to teachers and reduced some of the risks they commonly associate with instruction: “I can try and experiment with new strategies introduced at conferences without fear of risking my ‘status’ as a good teacher”; “I will give things a try because I do not feel threatened if it fails.”

Respondents indicated that various influence strategies were viewed as having other substantial behavioral impacts on students and the classroom. Visibility (42%) and rewards (37%) related to increases in instructional planning; visibility (53%) and communication of expectations (39%) were identified with increases in instructional time on task in classrooms. The strategy of visibility strongly increased monitoring of student learning (39%) and curriculum follow-through (35%). Support (student-related) (100%) and communication of expectations (50%) were viewed as strengthening teachers’ abilities to deal with student discipline problems:

I am motivated to do a good job for my principal because he is always willing to help me with any problems I have and supports me in my decisions. He helped me deal with some students who were disruptive and rebellious ... I am a first year teacher and I’m learning how to deal with discipline problems. He let me know that he trusts my judgment and does not mind helping ... I feel very confident and relaxed about making decisions in the classroom. He wants me to be an effective teacher who has control of my class.... I like what he does.

In a few instances, teachers disclosed that support (advice-intervention) (8%) promoted the development of teachers’ crisis intervention skills; and visibility (7%) was connected to increases in teacher authoritarianism (“I tend to be more authoritarian in the classroom because at any time a visit may be paid and I like to make sure that I’m always in control of myself and my

students.”). Only one strategy—suggestion (11%)—was seen as expanding slightly teachers’ discretion in the classroom: “I weigh the suggestion and if I feel a change is warranted I do that. If there is an area where I feel I am more knowledgeable about the content than he is—then I do it my way.”

Most principals’ influence strategies were also seen as having a significant impact on professional aspects of teachers’ behavior: specifically, relationships with principals and teachers’ professional growth. The following influence strategies had high respective impacts: rewards (93%, 47%), suggestion (91%, 83%), modeling (89%, 72%), support (84%, 73%), involvement in decision making (57%, 87%), visibility (56%, 39%), and communication of expectations (41%, 36%). Formal authority (21%, 15%) had lower respective perceived impacts on relationships with principals and professional growth. Formal authority (37%) also was viewed as enhancing relationships with parents. Less frequently teachers reported that the use of rewards (17%) affected teacher volunteerism (“I am more apt to volunteer for projects she needs help on.”). Modeling influenced teacher compliance with bureaucratic requirements including punctuality (6%) (i.e., arriving at work on time) and professional dress (9%). Formal authority also related to improvements in teacher punctuality as well as attendance at meetings, compliance with rules, and observance of deadlines. About 15% of the responses for formal authority were reported for each of these impacts.

Involvement in decision making was associated with several high impacts not described for other strategies. All reported impacts resulted from involvement with school-level decision making. No impacts on the classroom were discussed for this strategy. Each of the following impacts was reported roughly in 40% of the data for this strategy. One teacher described impacts on expression:

Our principal organized a Leadership Management Team (L.M.T.) in our school. This team is composed of representatives from all grade levels.... The team discusses concerns and policies for the school. Each representative presents these from their grade level and returns to the grade level to discuss results.... I think I am being treated like a valuable, intelligent professional. I participate more and feel free to express my opinion ... even on controversial matters.

Other high impacts identified with involvement in decision making were compliance with procedures for decision making (“Now I follow the process of change when I have a complaint or concern.”), and follow-through (“I know others depend on me to bring back information.”), compromise (“I am more willing to compromise when we don’t agree; he [the principal] can see my viewpoint and I can see his.”) and support for decisions (“I am supportive of ideas that evolve through dialogue and will implement them whether I have been directly involved in the development of the task or not.”).

Not surprisingly, teachers’ data indicated that contrived request for advice, coercion, and authoritarianism were linked to only negative behavioral responses, predominantly avoidance of principals (89%) (“I attempted to avoid interaction with my principal ... keep a low profile.”). A few instances of passive resistance (but no instances of overt resistance) to principals appeared in the data.



### *Summary and Additional Analyses of Impacts*

All positive influence strategies resulted in predominantly positive affective impacts, especially increases in teacher satisfaction. Of the positive influence strategies employed by effective principals, teachers disclosed that only formal authority had minimal positive impacts on satisfaction; this influence strategy was not linked to other positive affective impacts. Various combinations of strategies were related to increases in motivation, esteem, feelings of security, and inclusion.

The study respondents identified three positive strategies with strong cognitive impacts, particularly increases in reflection. However, formal authority and rewards were not highly related to increases in teacher reflection. It appears that formal authority was used to elicit compliance to routine operational expectations (e.g., meeting deadlines, rule compliance) and to expectations regarding professional dress. Apparently, neither of these forms of compliance requires ongoing reflective thinking by teachers. Even when formal authority was discussed in relation to achieving important academic and social goals related to students, it was often viewed as aggressive and blatantly controlling. Consequently, teachers indicated that they did not identify with and internalize the goals and values of principals who relied heavily on this strategy. Stated differently, teacher compliance to formal authority is often without strong positive affective and cognitive corollaries—it is primarily a surface-level behavioral response on the part of teachers. As such, formal authority, at least in the teachers' perspective, fails to produce identification with and internalization of principals' goals/values and teacher work involvement that reflects deeper levels of commitment.

Principals' use of positive influence strategies directly affected behavioral compliance; that is, teachers responded to principals' use of strategies and expectations (goals) in the desired ways. Explicitly and implicitly the data point out that the use of positive influence strategies (except formal authority) was linked to major impacts on relationships with principals and also with teachers' professional growth. Increases in time devoted to work and, more concretely, greater consideration for students are only two ways in which teachers frequently complied with principals' expectations. In addition, teachers reported idiosyncratic behavioral responses for principals' use of such strategies as rewards, formal authority, modeling, visibility, and involvement in decision making.

The data also indicate that teachers rarely complied with the expectations of principals who used contrived requests for advice, coercion, or authoritarianism. When cognitive and behavioral compliance did occur, the study data indicate that behavioral compliance often exceeded cognitive agreement: "I will do what is asked even if I question his intentions."

### *Instructional-Social Versus Noninstructional Domains*

Continued analyses indicated that the three types of perceived impacts—ffective, cognitive, behavioral—could be categorized in terms of an instructional-social (student-related) domain or a noninstructional domain. Teachers discussed significantly more data for the former domain. This analysis indicates that major affective impacts such as satisfaction, motivation, esteem, and security are usually associated with the instructional-social domain as are

major cognitive impacts including awareness and reflection. Behavioral impacts such as consideration for students, creativity/ innovation, time on task, instructional planning, monitoring of student outcomes, curriculum follow-through, and student discipline were also discussed predominantly as instructional-social domain issues. In total, the data identified with this domain account for about 69% of all frequency impact data.

In contrast, teachers' identified relatively few data (31% of frequency impact data) with the noninstructional domain. The only affective impact is inclusion: cognitive impacts associated with this domain include desire for participation, trust in the system, and respect for principals. Noninstructional behavioral impacts were observed for volunteerism and relationships with principals and parents. Use of formal authority was discussed for some idiosyncratic noninstructional behavioral impacts (e.g., punctuality, attendance at meetings); idiosyncratic impacts associated with involvement in decision making were compliance with decision procedures, follow-through, compromise, and support for decisions. The influence strategies of contrived request for advice and authoritarianism were tied to reductions in faculty involvement in decision making.

Indeed, the study data argue that the influence strategies described in this article tend to result in positive impacts on teachers and, overall, such impacts represent various forms of teacher compliance with principals and their goals. As the above analysis suggests, this was especially apparent for the instructional-social domain, which focused on teacher compliance directly in terms of working with students. More abstractly, it has been argued that teacher compliance occurred largely because of a perceived congruence between principals' strategies and goals, and teachers' professional norms/values. This conclusion was especially salient in data related to the instructional-social domain; however, as indicated earlier, it was also reflected in 84% of the total data related to the use of positive strategies. One teacher's comments illustrate the importance of congruence between principals' use of positive influence strategies and teacher compliance.

A strategy that my principal frequently uses to influence what I do is one that is easily identified. She comes to me frequently, touches me on the shoulder and verbally expresses how thankful she is to have me as part of her staff. She makes me feel needed and important to the school.... I perform with confidence and boldness and seek to please her.... All people like to be complimented. Praise is often all we need to motivate us to be the best that we can be ... I agree with this strategy. I treat my students the same way.

In contrast, the data argue that teacher compliance seldom occurs when there is lack of perceived congruence between principal strategies/goals and teachers' professional norms/values. Specifically, data available for the strategies of coercion, authoritarianism, contrived request for advice, and to some extent for formal authority suggest that when principals fail to employ appropriate influence strategies and/or pursue inappropriate goals, teacher compliance is problematic. As suggested earlier, avoidance was the teachers' major response to several of the aforementioned influence strategies.



*Normative-Instrumental Involvement: An Emergent Concept*

The three types of impacts described above— affective, cognitive, behavioral— represent different ways teachers involved themselves in work, quantitatively and qualitatively, in response to principals. This point is supported by teachers' descriptions of impacts related directly to achieving principal-determined work-related goals (i.e., broadly, the instructional and social goals discussed above). In most instances, teachers responded to principals' use of positive influence strategies/goals by increasing their involvement in work. Therefore, in accord with guidelines for grounded theory research, the concept of *normative-instrumental involvement* was constructed to reflect these three dimensions of teacher work involvement (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Although normative-instrumental involvement is primarily a form of teacher compliance, it is considered normative because it is grounded in the congruence between the moral-value dispositions of teachers and those reflected in the influence strategies and goals of principals. This congruence was especially evident in data describing principals' instructional and social goals for students. Teachers' willingness to comply with principals by increasing their involvement in work coincided with their inherent interest in achieving principal-determined goals. Stated differently, principals' ability to influence teachers is largely a function of teachers' willingness to be influenced in certain ways and toward certain ends. This congruence between teachers and principals was coded in 84% of the frequency data for the positive influence strategies.

The term *instrumental* as used in the concept of normative-instrumental involvement underscores the focus of this form of involvement: It is designed to achieve work-related goals, particularly those identified with the social/instructional domain of work with students.

It is argued above that normative-instrumental involvement is contingent on exchange processes initiated and sustained by school principals over time. In part such processes, teachers report, contribute to the development of particular affective, cognitive, and behavioral dispositions. The use of positive influence strategies by principals is linked to specific explicit and implicit benefits such as teacher satisfaction, esteem, praise, support, and goal achievement. In return for these and other benefits (most of which are symbolic) teachers tend to comply with principals' expectations by expanding their cognitive (e.g., reflection) and behavioral (e.g., time for instructional planning) involvement in work. As noted earlier, exchange processes appeared in 71% of the frequency data. The following quotation illustrates the prominence of symbolic exchanges (e.g., praise for compliance) in the study data:

Mr. \_\_\_\_ gives me positive reinforcement through written feedback for things he felt were worthy of praise—regular parent—teacher conferences, helping other teachers with problems, demonstrating a positive attitude toward students both in and out of the classroom ... I am encouraged to work to the greatest of my potential because I want to do my best and please the principal. I would feel guilty if I did not do extra work and go the extra mile for my principal.

The importance of exchange process to social interaction in general (e.g., Blau, 1964; Homans, 1958; Thibault & Kelley, 1959) and micropolitical interaction in particular (e.g., Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Ball, 1987; Hoyle, 1986) is well established in the literature. Exchange has also been discussed as a critical

component of understanding relationships between leaders and followers (e.g., Burns, 1978; Hollander, 1978; Jacobs, 1970). Although comparisons failed to yield a consistent fit between the present data and any specific approach to social exchange, certain basic ideas associated with exchange theories in general were evident in the data. Typically, exchange theories assume that interaction between individuals and groups in social settings consists in large part of transactions of tangible and intangible (e.g., acceptance, conference) valued goods. Individuals and groups engage, explicitly and implicitly, in a process of mutual accommodation to secure perceived rewards and benefits. Exchange processes are viewed as producing both social debt and a sense of obligation in others to reciprocate. Among other things debt creation and reciprocation promote social exchanges between and among individuals and groups over time (Blau, 1964; Gouldner, 1960; Homans, 1958; Thibault & Kelley, 1959). It is these general ideas about social exchange that emerged in the present findings.

In sum, it should be emphasized that normative-instrumental involvement, although fundamentally a form of compliance, is experienced quite positively by teachers. On one hand, it is a willing rather than a coerced act and based on a decision to accept as proper a given expectation (Pratt, 1988). On the other hand, normative involvement is contingent on exchanges (particularly “symbolic” exchanges) initiated and maintained by principals. In general, principals articulate *their* visions, set *their* goals, explain *their* expectations, communicate *their* values, and in large part determine the means to achieve such ends. Teachers are encouraged to “buy into the principal’s agenda” in exchange for explicit and implicit rewards associated with the use of positive influence strategies. For these reasons, the exercise of normative-instrumental leadership seems to expand what Barnard (1938) referred to as administrators’ “moral” authority and teachers’ “zone of indifference,” that is, the degree to which the expectations (goals/purposes) of school principals are considered legitimate and thus acceptable and teacher compliance is voluntary.

Although normative-instrumental leadership promotes internalization of principals’ goals and related values, teachers seldom indicated that they achieved high levels of empowerment and developed leadership qualities as a result of working with effective principals. To reiterate, decision making was coded in the data when it was evident that teachers were involved in actually making decisions collaboratively or when teachers were individually or collectively authorized to make decisions. Only one influence strategy—*involvement in decision making*—was linked to the development of teacher empowerment. However, only 51% of the data for this strategy were consistent with the concept of decision making described here. Teachers’ advisory role in decision making was underscored in 49% of the data for this strategy. In other words, the data suggest that teachers are frequently limited to giving opinions on a narrow range of issues defined by principals, whereas principals retain decisional authority and responsibility. On the whole, it appears that normative-instrumental involvement is “good subordination” and followership rather than the type of professionalism and empowerment to which many prominent educators aspire (e.g., Schlechty, 1990). Plainly, normative-instrumental involvement is consistent with the hierarchical structure of school organization.



### *Discussion: Theoretical Implications*

Findings from the present study argue that the influence strategies of principals have a positive impact on teachers' work involvement. Moreover, such involvement is founded on a strong moral/value commitment to work on the part of teachers. In accordance with guidelines for grounded theory inquiry, the relevant professional literature was reviewed to determine specific linkages between this central finding and the theoretical literature focusing on power/influence, particularly relationships between superordinates and subordinates in organizations (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1969). Several theorists have emphasized the importance of value congruence between subordinates and superordinates (or leaders and followers) (e.g., Burns, 1978; Barnard, 1938; Henderson, 1981; Mitchell & Spady, 1983). However, because of direct similarities with the present data, Etzioni's (1961, 1975) compliance theory was selected for purposes of brief comparison. This theory, which focuses on relationships between superordinate power and subordinate involvement, has been used primarily to classify organizations. However, it contains certain ideas directly relevant to the central theoretical finding that emerged from the present study.

An initial comparison was made between the influence strategies discussed in this article and the concepts from Etzioni's power model, an important component of compliance theory. (In part, the French and Raven's (1968) model was not used for comparative purposes here because of Bacharach and Lawler's [1980] criticism that this model is conceptually inconsistent and mixes bases of power and sources of power.) This model consists of four means of control: coercive (use or threat of physical sanctions); remunerative (material resources, salaries, services, commodities); normative (symbolic: manipulation of prestige, rituals, symbols, love, acceptance); and knowledge (control of information). (In Etzioni's earlier model knowledge was conceptualized as normative control; Bacharach & Lawler, 1980, expanded the model.) This analysis indicates that although open and effective principals use a range of influence strategies to influence teachers, such strategies rely most heavily on positive "normative," that is, symbolic forms of power. Only the strategies of coercion, authoritarianism, and in part formal authority were defined as coercive and overtly controlling by teachers. According to the data, teachers seemed to experience contrived request for advice as a negative form of normative power. Slight evidence of remunerative power was found in data related to the strategy of rewards. For a full discussion of this analysis, see Blase (1993).

The relationship between compliance theory (Etzioni, 1961, 1975) and the present study was especially strong with regard to principals' use of power and teacher work involvement. Etzioni theorizes that specific types of superordinate power are congruent (compatible, effective) with certain forms of subordinate involvement. He hypothesized that superordinates' use of coercive power is consistent with alienative involvement (i.e., negative, hostile); remunerative power is congruent with calculative involvement (i.e., neutral feelings, interest in material benefits); and normative (i.e., symbolic) power is congruent with moral/value involvement (i.e., based on identification with authority, internalization of norms). Here congruence refers to compatibility of superordinates' use of power and subordinates' involvement. Each requires

the other. To illustrate, the effective application of normative (i.e., symbolic) power requires moral/value-based involvement (i.e., commitment) by subordinates; variations in control can be expected to provoke variations in moral involvement, and vice versa.

The present study data are generally consistent with Etzioni's (1961, 1975) hypothesis regarding the use of normative (i.e., symbolic) power by superordinates and moral involvement on the part of subordinates. Analyses of affective, cognitive, as well as behavioral dimensions of work involvement discussed throughout this article provide compelling evidence that principals' use of normatively based strategies provokes deeper and more intense levels of moral-based involvement by teachers. At the same time, principals' use of normative-symbolic power requires, in varying degrees, moral involvement on the part of teachers. Etzioni (1975) further contends that this type of involvement is often critical to the realization of symbolic goals in normative organizations.

Indeed, the importance of teachers' strong moral involvement to achieving educational and social goals with students is well established in the empirical literature (Dreeben, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1989; Waller, 1932; Wynne, 1987). However, to date no studies have been published that are consistent with Etzioni's general hypothesis as it relates to school principals' use of normative power and teachers' moral involvement. In education, relevant studies have concentrated on teacher-student relationships. Only Greenfield's (1991) study of one school principal is suggestive along these lines. Also, empirical research on how principals influence teachers indicates that the use of normative forms of power may result in positive teacher outcomes, for example, collaborative relationships, loyalty, satisfaction, professional conduct, and commitment (Blase, 1987; Hanson, 1976; Hoy & Brown, 1986; Johnston & Venable, 1986; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990; Tartar, Hoy, & Bliss, 1989).

#### *A Final Note*

This article discusses the positive influence strategies used by open and effective principals and their impact on teachers. Such principals employ normatively based strategies to achieve normative goals. Effective principals are predominantly control-oriented: They directly and indirectly define both the goals and the means to achieve goals for teachers. And although such a control orientation results in increased levels of involvement by teachers, this involvement is largely a form of compliance. According to the present study, even effective principals rarely promote significant levels of teacher involvement in school decision making.

It is also important to note that only three strategies discussed in this article—visibility, suggestion, and involvement in decision making—resulted in a significant increase in teacher reflection. The strategies of support, modeling, and communication of expectations had only small impacts on reflection. Specifically, the former three (high impact) strategies were linked to increases in teacher authority, efficacy, collegial interaction, and openness; such strategies provoked complex, creative, and strategic thinking on the part of teachers. It is precisely such forms of thinking that enhance teachers' capacity for leadership in restructured schools (Conley, 1991) and improve their chances



of dealing successfully with students' academic and social needs (Sparks-Langer & Colton, 1991).

In discussing the current educational reform movement, Conley (1991) notes that a compliant orientation in teachers vis-à-vis school administrators must be replaced with greater teacher authority and responsibility in school-wide strategic and operational decisions. Although the research of Conley and others has provided powerful rationales for viable forms of teacher participation, this has typically not occurred in most American schools. Generally, teachers experience considerable "decision deprivation," particularly in the organizational domain of schools (Bacharach, Bamberger, Conley, & Bauer, 1990). In fact, recent empirical studies of restructured schools have produced startling evidence of this problem (Imber & Duke, 1984; Malen & Ogawa, 1988).

During the last several years there has been a consistent call in restructured schools for the kind of leadership discussed by Burns (1978). Such leadership will require visionaries: women and men who will transform educational institutions through authentic forms of teacher involvement in decision making (Schlechty, 1990). To support efforts to restructure schools, university programs in educational administration, particularly those dominated by a control ideology, will be required to reexamine their perspective on school leadership. Similarly, changes in the perspectives of teacher education programs that explicitly and implicitly foster a subordinate and compliant orientation in teachers should be examined. In both cases, consideration of critical perspectives that emphasize an understanding of the relationship between dominant societal structures, hierarchical/bureaucratic ways of managing, and the inequitable distribution of power, knowledge, and resources in schools can be valuable (see, e.g., Apple, 1982; Bates, 1982; Foster, 1986; Giroux, 1981; Yeakey, 1987).

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## Book Reviews

*School Ways: The Planning and Design of America's Schools.* Ben Graves. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993, 237 pages, hardcover, US\$39.50.

Reviewed by George Buck, University of Alberta

As classroom teachers, school administrators, and teacher educators should we be concerned about the design and construction of school buildings, or should we leave such matters to architects and others hailed as design experts? It has been contended by some that where school takes place should be a minimal consideration in education. Indeed, it may be argued, hyperbolically at least, that all that is required for a school is a log with a pupil at one end and a teacher at the other with little regard for the length, condition or suitability of the log or its context (Lewis, 1937). Such a learning environment leaves much to be desired, especially in winter. On the other hand, excessive concern about the appearance or image of the school plant at the expense of the individuals who must function within its precincts, namely the pupils and teachers, can be equally detrimental to education. Although books describing existing school architecture and works that suggest how to improve the design and construction of new school buildings appear to have been much more common in the past than at present (American Association of School Administrators, 1949; Building Research Institute, 1962; Caudill, 1954; Harrison & Dobbin, 1931), Ben Graves' book *School Ways: The Planning and Design of America's Schools* seeks not only to provide a current summary of successful school designs, but also to recommend directions for the planning of new school buildings. Although the book's title suggests that the subject matter is relevant only to the United States, many of the designs and concepts discussed in the book have been used, and continue to be used in some instances, in areas of Canada, so the book is relevant to the Canadian scene.

The work begins with an identification and elucidation of some of the indicators and factors used in forecasting the need for new school buildings. The next chapter presents an all-too-brief summary of selected developments in United States school architecture from 1800 to the present. Some of the current issues in school architecture are then addressed followed by descriptions of several planned projects and possible designs of future school buildings. The remaining chapters provide information and suggestions on how to engender and implement the planning process of school design and construction so that the outcomes are successful. A helpful listing of resource materials plus names and addresses of institutions relevant to school building design and construction conclude the work.

Between all but the first and second chapters are *Portfolios*. These are photographs, plans, and descriptions of selected innovative school designs, deemed successful by the author, and that are representative of the subject matter in the preceding chapter. The photographs, several in color, generally complement the descriptions and plans well. For example, the first portfolio, concerned with earlier innovative designs that have had extensive influence on sub-



sequent construction, contains one of the most informative and clear descriptions of the Crow Island school in Winnetka, Illinois to appear in any book on school architecture known to the reviewer.

Unlike some earlier books on school architecture, Graves' work does not focus exclusively, or even primarily, on large urban schools. Consideration is given to smaller centers and rural settings, including one portfolio describing recent designs of one-room schools used in remote areas. The text is written so that it may be understood by those who do not have extensive knowledge of architecture and architectural terms. Thus the book is accessible to almost anyone involved with or concerned with the design and development of school architecture.

In no small way, however, the introduction by William Brubaker detracts from the perceived usefulness of the work. Although some people like to predict future developments and trends and the speed at which they will occur, especially developments that are envisaged as revolutionizing or altering education radically, such predictions have been and continue to be inaccurate, and their inclusion encourages readers to question the credibility of the work. For instance, Brubaker mentions that some schools of the future may extend up to 12 stories and that it is possible for, "a high school to be in an office building" (p. 6). Although it is possible that a few schools of this configuration may be erected in extremely large urban centers (Graves describes the new 10-story Stuyvesant school in New York City), this prediction is little changed from a similar one made by Harrison (1931) 62 years earlier, where he envisaged skyscraper schools complete with escalators and integration with offices and shop. Given that such school buildings have not become common in spite of two predictions made 62 years apart, one might conclude that there is a fundamental difference in what are considered important design features between some architects and those in education responsible for the selection of school building designs.

A more serious criticism concerns Graves' understanding and criticism of particular aspects of education. Throughout the text, Graves refers to *educators*, yet he does not define what he means. This is not a trivial point, because he mentions in more than one place that it is imperative that there be cooperation between educators, architects, manufacturers, and students to ensure proper school design. Although consideration is given to input from parents, pupils, school administrators, consultants, and board members, one body of educators, teachers, is conspicuous by its absence. Although the average teacher may not know much about architecture, teachers do work in particular schools most of the time, unlike most administrators, consultants, and board members. Teachers, therefore, possess some idea of what aspects of design are suitable and which are not suitable in a school. Moreover, many school administrators, board members, and even government officials began as classroom teachers. Washburne (Washburne & Marland, 1963), the superintendent associated with the planning and construction of the Crow Island school, states that the creation of this school and the enduring success of its design came about because all parties, including teachers, were involved in its design. Whenever Graves mentions teachers it is usually in disparaging tones. Describing the open-plan (or open-area) school concept popular for a time during the 1950s and 1960s,

Graves claims that this architectural and educational concept failed primarily because teachers were unwilling to adapt to this innovative idea that embodied the principles of the old one-room schools (p. 30). This sentiment contradicts both the general tenor of the book, that it is only through collaboration that successful school design results, and Graves' earlier claim that, "Fads such as ... windowless classrooms, stock plans and classes on buses ... have all come and gone" (pp. 27-28). If windowless classrooms were a fad, then it follows that open-plan schools were a fad too, because their design and general enthusiasm for this type of school prevailed for only a brief period throughout North America. In spite of Graves' claim that open-area schools were similar in principle to the older one-room schools, it was unusual for more than one teacher to be teaching in a one-room school at a time; although students in one grade could hear the lessons for the other grades, there was only one teacher present. The problem of sound in open-plan schools was recognized and noted by some architects before such schools gained popularity and enthusiastic promotion. Caudill (1954) mentions two alternatives available for resolving this problem, "new methods for controlling sound in these open spaces, or (2) we condition ourselves and our pupils to be less sensitive to disturbing noises" (p. 87). Graves' criticism of teachers' role in the demise of open-area design schools is perplexing in another plane, because elsewhere in the book he expresses no concern that a particular group of individuals in a community, who were not professional educators, objected to the planned use of pink brick in a school (p. 199).

Graves does describe many examples of successful modern designs of school buildings, including descriptions of materials used. We are offered hope that future school building designs need not be uninspired and user unfriendly, when Graves states, "the days of the hermetically sealed institution, isolated from its surroundings are over" (p. 73). Budgetary limitations common in many school districts currently are addressed, as examples are presented of attractive and functional schools that were comparatively inexpensive to create. The author notes that there has been a gradual return to the tradition of using natural light in the classroom rather than using artificial lighting exclusively, and many of the schools described in the book reflect this trend. Unfortunately, there is no mention as to which specific type of artificial lighting (fluorescent, sodium vapor, incandescent, halogen) should be used. It is possible, therefore, for planners to select artificial lighting on the basis of cost only, ignoring or neglecting possible health factors associated with specific artificial light sources.

Portable buildings are mentioned as being sometimes required to augment an existing school building, yet neither plans of particularly successful examples nor suggestions for the design of such buildings are provided. This omission seems peculiar, because Graves reports elsewhere in the text that in one location residents opposed an attempt to replace an old school building with trailer modules. We are left wondering whether prefabricated portable structures such as those produced by ATCO are suitable at all, or whether custom designed and constructed portables are preferable.

Graves mentions accommodation of physically disabled people in modern school buildings several times, a most important consideration given the cur-



rent direction of integration of physically handicapped students. Unfortunately, apart from mentioning the use of ramps, little else is described, and the reader is left wondering if there are any innovative designs or techniques that could be shared.

Graves notes that some aspects of school design have become obsolete primarily because individuals in education have neglected them. One important example is the design and improvement of school furniture. Several schools are described as possessing computer rooms where the apparatus is placed on tables of a fixed height. One can envisage problems if the computers are used both by grade 1 and grade 6 students and wheelchair users. Although it is true that detachable keyboards accommodate some individual differences, it is preferable for the computer's monitor and other peripherals such as mice to be at a height convenient to the user. Graves suggests that effort should be directed toward "requiring furniture that will adjust to the user's size and other needs, such as an understanding that left-handed people are uncomfortable with right-handed furniture" (p. 202), as he notes was done much earlier in the design of the furniture for the Crow Island school. Indeed, chapter two of Dewey (1900) and the first issues of the *School Board Journal* (1891-1894) reveal that considerable thought was given to the design of school furniture. It is time to resurrect such interest.

One wonders if developments in school architecture in other countries has influenced current United States designs. Although Graves does not mention such influence, McLeod (1962) compares the British CLASP system of school design with contemporary processes in the United States. Did any such foreign developments effect change to North American designs, or are current designs based solely on ideas originating in the United States?

Although several criticisms have been noted in *School Ways*, I recommend it nevertheless as a suitable resource for those involved in the planning and design of new school buildings. Moreover, it would be an excellent textbook for a course or a portion of a course to acquaint preservice teachers with some of the history, planning, designs, considerations, and problems associated with modern school architecture. If we wish to improve all aspects of education, then we must ensure that the teachers we graduate possess knowledge beyond pedagogy and curriculum. Thus educators may be better prepared to guide and assist architects and furniture designers in the planning and construction of appropriate buildings and infrastructure.

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*George Buck is a lecturer in the Department of Educational Psychology. He began his career as a teacher and includes school building design and its relationship to learning and instructional theory among his areas of interest.*

*Testing Testing: Social Consequences of the Examined Life*. F. Allan Hanson. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993, 378 pages, Can\$38.95.

*Reviewed by Birendra K. Sinha, University of Alberta*

This book is a scholarly treatise of intentional as well as unintended social consequences of testing in the contemporary United States. The author, an anthropologist, has presented a detailed analysis of the many facets of the testing enterprise from a sociocultural perspective. Two main themes have been expounded in this book. First, the tests "create" individual differences in respect to specified personal characteristics. Second, testing is an instrument of power exercised by a select group of persons or institutions over ordinary citizens. In general, Hanson argues that the ostensible purpose of testing—assessment of the existing personal characteristics and prediction of future behaviors—is misleading in that it obfuscates the altered relationships between test givers and test takers. As a consequence, new but subtle social realities are produced that are antithetical to the goals of a democratic society where "equal opportunity" and "unequal endowments" are attempted to be reconciled.

There are 10 chapters in the book including Introduction and Conclusion. The main chapters are divided into two parts: Authenticity Tests and Qualifying Tests. The five chapters on Authenticity Tests in Part I discuss the prescientific history and modern practice of determining innocence, guilt, honesty, and truthfulness of individuals and groups concerning culturally important behaviors (e.g., lie detection and drug testing). The Qualifying Tests in Part II refer to ability tests, such as achievement, aptitude, and intelligence for the purpose of selecting and promoting qualified applicants in academia, industry, and the military. These qualifying tests are also used for vocational guidance and career counseling to ensure better fit between the individual and society.

As a social scientist Hanson clearly specifies his basic premise and assumptions in the introductory chapter. He is convincing in emphasizing that the extreme pervasiveness of testing in the United States stems from the philosophical underpinning of "positivism," the fundamental tenet of which is that science can provide better understanding and discover laws of human behavior. Thus not only those engaged in the testing enterprise but also the political leaders and the general public have developed unshakable faith in the usefulness of tests. Hanson is at his best when discussing the early history of "authenticity testing" where he adduces many historical events to support his arguments that tests are simply representations of culturally sanctioned reality. Trials by battle, ordeal, torture, and similar practices in preindustrial Europe could be construed as precursors of modern tests where application of power by authorized institutions or their representatives to an individual is the common theme. The author devotes considerable space to lie detection and associated polygraph testing. Through wit, logic, and empirical evidence,



Hanson demonstrates the unscientific nature of lie detection tests and grave injustice perpetrated on powerless individuals. The author does acknowledge that evidence of guilt or innocence based on polygraph testing is not admissible in courts of law and that legislative measures have been taken in the United States to control or prohibit lie detection tests. However, it is interesting to read that polygraph testing still enjoys a certain degree of acceptance among lawyers, judges, police, and employers. For example, as recently as 1991, Anita Hill attempted to establish her credibility by passing a polygraph test during the United States Senate Judiciary Committee hearings regarding her sexual harassment charge against Judge Clarence Thomas. Because of the legal restrictions on polygraph testing, a number of paper-and-pencil "integrity tests" (i.e., honesty tests) have been developed for use with employees in industrial settings. Although these tests are not supported by reputable psychometricians, they have virtually replaced polygraph testing in personnel work. The author rightly cautions the reader to be skeptical of the scientific merits of these written integrity tests.

Hanson raises similar philosophical and scientific issues in his discussion of drug testing with urinalysis in schools, universities, workplace, and sports. Although it is important to recognize the danger of drug abuse, the author draws attention to the cost of routine drug testing and accuracy of the findings. Undoubtedly significant numbers of false positives have destroyed the dreams and careers of many young persons in North America. Notwithstanding the media presentations, drug use is on decline in the United States. Then why are we so concerned? Hanson suggests that institutionalized drug testing is aimed at social control through mostly negative sanctions (e.g., job loss or dishonorable discharge). In the "disciplinary technology of power," drug testing is an attempt at mind control. The test givers are culturally sanctioned to exercise power over test takers by determining the type and method of information extraction.

In the section on Qualifying Tests, the author examines selection tests in the context of control and power. One chapter presents a fascinating account of the history of ability testing not generally discussed in standard textbooks on psychological and educational testing. Starting from the Chinese Civil Service Examination in the 7th century to the more recent Western attempts through physiological (e.g., phrenology), oral, and written examinations, the goal has been to select persons best suited to various positions in the society. But as Hanson points out, all such tests are biased in favor of the class in power, and as such are not truly objective. The superior performance of the white, middle-class, anglo-saxon test takers are explained in terms of their superior genetic endowment. Similarly, the rise of vocational and interest testing is primarily for the masses. Test givers have never suggested that one of the qualifications for seeking political office, for example, should be acceptable performance on selected aptitude and interest tests. Familiar concepts, such as intelligence, eugenics, race, class, and self-esteem are critically evaluated by Hanson to show that they are infinitely more complex issues than assumed by test givers.

Criticism of psychological, educational, and physiological testing is not new. Many books and articles have been written during the last 40 years emphasizing the harmful consequences of ability and personality testing. What

is new in the book under review is that the author has successfully demonstrated the historical continuity of the testing enterprise for the purpose of exercising social control. Furthermore, the two major constituents of the testing enterprise—test givers and test takers—are working at cross purposes. Advances in the technology of testing have not changed the real purpose of testing from that in the prescientific era of trials by battle and ordeal. Thus modern testing is neither objective nor democratic as claimed by test givers.

The author is commended for dealing with a complex issue of contemporary society with relevant facts and critical analysis. However, there are several lacunae in Hanson's exposition of testing in the United States. First, he does not give adequate consideration to the consequences of not using tests, particularly qualifying tests. Deeply entrenched sociopolitical and cultural biases can be overcome through higher performance on tests as has happened in case of admission to Canadian medical schools. A large number of ethnic minorities are entering professional programs in Canada because of their superior performance on the standardized tests in spite of the fact that some ethnic groups are least liked by the majority. Second, the author virtually ignores the psychometric advances in modern testing. Hanson's definition of a test as a "representational technique" is too vague compared with the generally accepted definition that a test is a systematic and quantitative observation of a sample of behavior for prediction purposes. Because prediction is the ultimate aim of testing, the contribution of decision theory and multiple regression methods in improving prediction regardless of the "power motive" of test givers deserves serious discussion. There are certainly ways in which the interests of the test takers can be safeguarded in a democratic society.

*Birenda K. Sinha is an associate professor in the Departments of Psychology and Psychiatry and Director of the Psychometric Laboratory in the Psychology Department. He specializes in experimental and clinical psychopathology including psychometrics.*

*Pedagogue's Progress.* Fred S. Keller. Lawrence, KA: TRI Publications, 99 pages.

*Reviewed by* Terry W. Belke, *University of Alberta*

*Pedagogue's Progress* is an autobiographical account of Fred Keller's experiences that documents how traditional methods of instruction failed him both as a student and as a teacher and how this failure motivated his quest for alternative methods of instruction that eventually led to the development of a personalized system of instruction (PSI). The book is written in the informal voice of personal recollections. Chapters are short narrative accounts (2-4 pages) organized in a chronological progression starting with Keller as a youth searching for an occupation and ending with Keller as a retired academic making predictions about the future of education.

In the introduction, Keller states that this book is written for educated lay people—students both past and present. Specifically, he wishes to address "alumni and alumnae who are dismayed to see their alma mater with feet of crumbling clay" (p. 1) as well as students currently in the educational system



who feel something is wrong with their schools, their teachers, or themselves. According to Keller, the book is a story of the failure of a student, a teacher, and the educational system of which they were a part. From this failure arose his dismay with traditional methods of instruction, which motivated the development of a personalized system of instruction (PSI) based on principles of operant conditioning.

The book is divided into five sections. Chapters 1-4 offer recollections of early studies, early occupations, and early years of teaching. Chapters 5-6 document Keller's first attempt at developing a new method of instruction to train students in the use of telegraphy for the military. Chapters 7-11 deal with Keller's efforts to improve his teaching through the application of principles of reinforcement. Chapters 12-21 deal with the application of PSI in a formal educational system in Brazil. Finally, Chapters 22-25 recount the origin and growth of PSI as an alternative to group instruction.

The first section begins with Keller as a high school dropout exploring different occupations and settling on a job as a messenger boy for Western Union. During this time, Keller developed a fascination with telegraphy. Following service in the army during World War I, Keller took advantage of military-sponsored funds to complete his education. In this early period Keller found the motivation to complete his education after reading Watson's (1919) *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*. On completing his bachelor's degree, Keller was accepted for graduate study at Harvard where, Keller states, the most important thing he learned was from his fellow graduate student Burrhus Frederic Skinner. His observation of one of Skinner's rats in an operant conditioning chamber learning to respond on a lever for food left a lasting impression.

Keller obtained a position as an instructor at Tufts college, where his attempts at teaching using the traditional lecture method began. The basis for this method, as he later found out, was *The Great Didactic* by Johann Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky) in 1638. However, despite adhering to Komensky's prescriptions, Keller judged himself a failure as a teacher. As he points out, the prescriptions of Komensky do not refer to the effects of the method on the scholar. "In spite of my efforts with Komensky's methods, no more than ten percent of all my pupils accomplished what I felt they should. At least one half of them did no better than I had done in college" (p. 14). To Keller, the virtues of the traditional method were merely to inspire listeners or showcase the talents of the speaker, but *not* to produce effective learning in scholars.

The second section documents Keller's first effort at developing a new method of instruction. Keller recalled that rat in the operant conditioning chamber pressing a lever in the presence of a light and receiving immediate feedback. Based on this observation, he devised a code-voice method to train telegraphers in which subjects heard the code, recorded the letter that the code represented on a special code sheet, and then heard the letter that the code represented over a speaker. The system provided immediate feedback to subjects about the correctness of their responses and allowed them to monitor their own progress and to progress at their own pace. The system was successful. Keller was hired by the military to train telegraphers; however, an evaluation team of civilian educators failed to see the advantages of Keller's method.

Section three describes Keller's return to academia, still dissatisfied with the traditional method of instruction and motivated to generalize principles of conditioning to the instruction of an introductory course in psychology. He designed the course to make instruction more systematic and allow students to observe principles of conditioning directly through experimentation. Despite the success of these changes, Keller claims that he was still not a successful teacher. His feeling of failure arose from the distribution of grades in his courses, which showed a normal distribution of grades in which the proportion of students at each level did not vary. Did this reflect something about the students, or was it a product of the teacher grading on the curve? Keller was sensitive to the expressions on the faces of the students when they learned of the outcomes of their efforts. Furthermore, Keller compared himself with his eminent colleagues and found himself wanting.

I possessed a certain narrowness of outlook, a certain inability to see all sides of every question, and a tendency to act in the absence of exhaustive preparation. Added to these was a blind enthusiasm for every project that I undertook; and, to top it all, a strong dislike for engaging in open debate. These are not the characteristics of a professor, let alone a scientist or scholar. They are more nearly the traits of a fanatic, a promotor, or a missionary; and perhaps my colleagues saw this. (pp. 30-31)

This marked the depth of Keller's despair. He felt like an outsider among his colleagues and questioned his qualifications as an educator.

In the chapters that follow, Keller reviews the collection of facts and principles that comprise reinforcement theory and a programmed system of instruction. Following this, he recounts an occasion when Skinner visited the classroom of his daughter's teacher. Skinner observed that the students were motivated to work by escape from the threat of punishment, that delays to reinforcement for correct behavior were long, that large blocks of behavior were reinforced rather than each correct behavior, and that there was a general lack of reinforcement in the learning context. Based on these observations, Skinner devised a way to generalize laboratory laws of conditioning to the classroom that led to the development of a system of programmed instruction as well as the programmed textbook and teaching machine. In reading about Skinner's work, Keller found the solution to his despair.

The fourth section documents how PSI came to be developed in a formal educational setting in Brazil. Keller moonlighted by teaching courses in University Extension. In one of his extension courses, he met a young woman by the name of Myrthes Rodriguez do Prado, who left in the middle of his class. Although he never saw her again, their meeting affected the course of his life. In 1959 he received a letter from the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters at the University of São Paulo inviting him to come to the university to teach experimental and comparative psychology. The letter was signed by his former student. The subsequent year in São Paulo challenged Keller's stereotypes and showed that some props he considered to be essential to teaching were unnecessary. Keller left having lit the torch of reinforcement theory in Brazil.

In Chapter 18, Keller describes his dream course based on programmed instruction designed to teach reinforcement theory. It is a course with lectures,



demonstrations, discussions, laboratory hours, and homework. Lectures and demonstrations would be infrequent and inspirational. Attendance at lectures and demonstrations would be optional. Each student would have access to a room or cubicle well stocked to run experiments. Students would write a report on each experiment and answer a question on the assigned readings. The role of the teacher would be to program the instruction for each student and redesign the course based on each student's performance. When all course requirements were met the course would end. There would be no course grade, no final examination, no reward for speed of attainment, and no punishment for delay. Keller concludes this course is unlikely to be embraced in North America where the traditional method is entrenched; however, it could happen elsewhere; his dream course was implemented in Brazil and judged to be a success.

In the last section, Keller provides a prescription for a personalized system of instruction (PSI) for any teacher who may be inclined to follow in his footsteps. His chapter on individualized instruction is analogous to Komensky's prescription for the group instruction using the lecture method. In the final chapter, Keller looks back in retirement over the road he has travelled and makes a bold prediction about the future role of the teacher. PSI made his final experiences with teaching rewarding; however, he concedes that his ultimate failure was in not convincing more educators that good teaching is more a matter of arranging conditions for happy and effective learning than "show and tell." Keller looks into his crystal ball and foretells the passing of teachers as we know them and the demise of group instruction.

*Pedagogue's Progress* persuasively makes the point that the education system has failed its constituents and that more effective methods of instruction based on principles of conditioning are available. It carries a message similar to that made by Skinner (1987) in *The Shame of American Education*, but makes the point in a different way. At the very least the book leads one to challenge some of the fundamental assumptions about how to best instruct students. Keller's recollections speak to all who have experienced dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of their current methods of teaching and who seek a better way to reach their students.

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*Terry Belke recently completed a doctorate in psychology at Harvard and holds a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Alberta.*

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